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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

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ROMAN EMPERORS,

FROM

AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

BY JOHN BAPTIST LEWIS CREVIER,

PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC, IN THE COLLEGE OF BEAUVAIS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY JOHN MILL, ESQ.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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LIST

Of the Names of Consuls, and Years Included in this Volume.

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Cn. Acerronius Proculus.	A. R. 788.
C. Pontius Nigrinus.	A. C. 37.
M. Aquilius Julianus.	A. R. 789.
P. Nonius Asprenas.	A. C. 38.
Caius Augustus II.	A. R. 790.
L. Apronius Cæsianus.	A. C. 39.
Caius Augustus III.	A. R. 791. A. C. 40.
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CLAUDIUS, EMPEROR.

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L. Vitellius II.	
L. Quintius Crispinus II.	A. R. 795.
M. Statilius Taurus.	A. C. 44.
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A. R. 797. Valerius Asiaticus II.
A. C. 46. M. Junius Silanus.

A. R. 798. Ti. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germa-
A. C. 47. nicus IV.
L. Vitellius III.

A. R. 799. A. Vitellius.
A. C. 48. L. Vipstanus.

A. R. 800. C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus.
A. C. 49. Q. Veranius.

A. R. 801. C. Antistius Vetus.
A. C. 50. M. Suilius Rufus.

A. R. 802. Ti. Claudius Cæsar Augustus
A. C. 51. Germanicus V.
Ser. Cornelius Orfitus.

A. R. 803. Faustus Cornelius Sulla.
A. C. 52. L. Salvius Otho Titianus.

A. R. 804. D. Junius Silanus.
A. C. 53. Q. Haterius.

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HISTORY

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OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS,

FROM AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

CALIGULA.

BOOK VII.

SECT. I.

ADVANTAGES that may be drawn from bad examples. Caius the true name of the Emperor whom we call Caligula. Tiberius's will set aside. No honours decreed Tiberius. His funeral. Universal joy for Caius's accession to the empire. Caius begins well. His respect towards his relations. He discharges the legacies left by Tiberius and Livia. His prodigality. Good actions. Demonstrations of public gratitude towards him. He is consul with Claudius. His speech to the senate. He dedicates the temple of Augustus. Feasts and entertainments. Caius sick. General uneasiness. Vow dictated by flattery. Cruelty of Caius. Epoch of his change of conduct. He puts Tiberius Gemellus to death

death. Death of Silanus. Græcinus having refused to accuse Silanus, is put to death. His stubborn virtue. Treaty concluded by Vitellius with Artabanes. Antiochus again put in possession of the kingdom of Commagena. History of Agrippa, grandson to Herod. Disgrace and death of Pilate. Tiberius's name omitted in the oaths of the first of January. Right of elections restored to, and soon after taken, from the people. Cruelties of Caius. Death of Macro. Death of Antonia. Caius takes pleasure in defaming his ancestors. His mad and incestuous love of his sisters. His debauches of all kinds. His marriages. He causes divine honours to be paid himself. His follies with regard to his horse. Other proofs of his madness. Vespasian, being Edile, covered with dirt by Caius's order. Caius's second consulship. His extravagant expences. His rapine law against high treason revived. Domitius Afer's readiness of mind when in the greatest danger. Caius deposes the Consuls. His cruel and spiteful jealousy. The senators, and particularly L. Vitellius, mean flatterers. Monstrous barbarity of Caius. Savage sayings. Other cruelties of Caius. Heroic resolution of Canus Julius. Caius builds a bridge over the sea.

Advantages that may be drawn from bad examples.

WE have just ended the reign of a prince, who studied to be wicked; and are now to enter on that of a furious madman. Disagreeable subjects to treat of, were they not attended with some use and instruction,

instruction to the reader. For * history does not instruct by a recital of virtues only, but offers examples of every kind; still useful and instructive lessons to those who make a proper application of them. In it princes, ministers of state, and private persons, may all find models to form themselves by; at the same time that they meet with actions, vicious in their principles, and fatal in their events, that warn them to avoid ever committing the like.

True wisdom consists in knowing how to discern between what is laudable and what is shameful; between what is just and what is unjust: and must know and hate the deformity of vice, as well as love the majestic splendour of virtue. The old Spartans were so sensible of the truth of this maxim, that they would make their slaves drunk, to shew their children to how despicable a condition excess of wine reduces the drunkard. That was an inhuman custom.† To corrupt one, in order to instruct and reform another, is a tyranny that degrades man, and puts him on a level with brutes: but to make bad examples, and especially the bad examples of those, who, in the highest stations of power and fortune, have been eminently wicked, serve to inspire a horror and detestation of vice, is an innocent artifice, that converts the poison into a remedy. *Plut. Demet.*

Plutarch.

* Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre et frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ quod imitere capias: inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites. *Liv. Præf.*

† Ὅμως τοι καὶ τὴν ἐκ διαφθορᾶς ἐτέρων ἐπανόρθωσιν, ἐκ πάντων φιλανθρωπότατον ἐδὲ πολιτικὴν ἡγούμεθα. *Plut.*

Plutarch, from whom I borrow this reflection, mentions a famous player on the flute, who used to make his scholars hear both good and bad players; telling them, "So you ought to play; and so, on the "contrary, you ought not to play." With that view it is, that, after having drawn the picture of a wise and mild government under Augustus, I feel no reluctance to paint in a Tiberius, a Caligula, or a Nero, when I come to him, the most odious excesses of vice and tyranny. The contrast must be advantageous to the cause of virtue.

Nor can it be of disservice to Christian humility. Augustus's first successors were monsters. Yet they were men: and if it be true, that no * sin can be committed by one man, which may not likewise be committed by another, if not guided and assisted by our great Creator, let us, from those examples that strike us with horror, reflect, from what a dreadful gulf the grace of Christ has delivered us. I thought these reflections might not be judged ill-timed between the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula.

A.R.788. A. C. 37.

CN. ACERRONIUS PROCULUS.
C. PONTIUS NIGRINUS.

Caius the true name of the emperor whom we call Caligula.

We have said elsewhere how Caius came by the surname of Caligula, by which he is more generally known to us. The ancients seldom call him so; and himself disliked it, as

* Nullum est peccatum quod facit homo, quod non possit facere et alter homo, si desit rector a quo factus est homo. *Aug. Serm.* xcix. *de verbis Ev. c.* 6.

as a kind of nick-name. I may sometimes call him Caligula in conformity to custom, but more generally by his pre-name Caius, under which he is best known in history. A.R. 788. A.C. 37. *Sen. de Const. Sa.* c. XVIII.

The first * step Caius took, after being acknowledged and proclaimed by the prætorian soldiers, was to send Macro to the senate with Tiberius's will, to have it annulled. By it Tiberius named his two grandsons, Caius and Tiberius Gemellus, his heirs; one to succeed the other. Caius was apprised of it, and might have suppressed the will: but he chose rather to have it annulled by authority of the senate, to whom Macro represented on his behalf, that Tiberius was not in his senses when he made it, and that it plainly appeared so by his appointing a child to govern, not yet old enough to sit among them. The senators, who hated Tiberius, thought these reasons sufficient, and accordingly set the will aside. Tiberius's will set aside. *Dio. l.* LIX. *Suet. Cal.* 14. & *Tib.* 75, 76.

All the prerogatives and titles of sovereign power, which Augustus had received but by degrees, and some of which Tiberius constantly refused to take, were heaped upon Caius in a hurry: but he too at first affecting an appearance of modesty, being in possession of the more essential part, authority, declined accepting several titles of honour, though afterwards, and an effect of his natural fickleness, he assumes them all once, except that of Father of the Country; and that too he soon took, adding new one's to it,

* It is the first act that Dion mentions of Caius's reign, and it seems natural to think it so: for which reason I have preferred Dion to Suetonius, who does not mention the annulling Tiberius's Will till after Caius's return to Rome.

A.R.788. A. C. 37. it, such as, THE PIOUS, THE SON OF CAMPS, THE FATHER OF ARMIES, and in fine, THE MOST GOOD AND GREAT CÆSAR, appropriating to himself epithets sacred to Jupiter. *Suet. Calig.* 22.

No honours decreed Tiberius. His funeral. *Dio.*

When he sent Tiberius's will to Rome, he desired the same honour might be decreed that prince as had been paid to Augustus, the senators were much more disposed to brand the memory of Tiberius with infamy, than to honour it; and readily conceived that their young emperor requested it more out of form sake than any real desire to have it done: they therefore deferred deliberating on that head till his return; and Caius said no more of it. Tiberius received no other honour but that of a public funeral, which was often granted private persons. Caius accompanied the body from Misenum to Rome, and the train entering the city towards evening, the obsequies were performed next morning. Caius pronounced from the tribunal of harangues Tiberius's funeral oration; or rather a funeral oration on the occasion, for he spoke very little of Tiberius, but much of Augustus and Germanicus, and strove to move the hearts of the people in his own favour.

Universal joy for Caius's accession to the empire *Suet. Calig.* 17.

Nor was it difficult. Never did prince ascend the throne with more favourable dispositions in those he was to reign over: he was tenderly beloved by the army and provinces, who had almost all seen him a child, following his father Germanicus, with whom he was not only on the Rhine, but in the East too. The extreme love the Romans had for Germanicus, descended to his son; and that love was still enhanced by pity and compassion for the misfor-

misfortunes of his family. They were just delivered from a tyranny under which they had long groaned, and their hatred of Tiberius was turned into affection for Caius. A. R. 788. A. C. 37.

And accordingly from his leaving Misenum to conduct Tiberius's body to Rome, notwithstanding all the mournful pomp of a funeral solemnity, and that he himself was in deep mourning, he was continually surrounded by a prodigious concourse of people whose joyful acclamations rent the very air, mixing their appellations of power and grandeur with those of love and tenderness, calling him a * *propitious star, their dearest child, their charming son:* and in the first three months after his accession to the empire, no less than a hundred and sixty thousand victims were sacrificed in thanksgivings to the gods. *Suet. Calig.* 14.

The joy in the provinces was not less. For several months nothing was seen but feasting and rejoicing, both among high and low, rich and poor, throughout the whole extent of the empire. The golden age was expected to return under a prince so beloved both by gods and men. *Philo Legat. ad Caium.*

The beginning of his reign seemed to answer those high expectations. At the first meeting of the senate in which Caius presided, and which was filled with a great number of Roman knights, and even many of the populace, his language was most seducing: he declared his intention was to divide the supreme power with them, that he thought it an honour to be called their son and pupil, and that their desires should be the rule of his conduct. Caius begins well. *Dio.*

That

* Sidus, et pullum, et pupum et alumnum. *Suet.*

A.R. 788. A.C. 37. That he might confirm these fine promises by deeds, he set at liberty all that were confined in prison by Tiberius's orders; and then it was that Pomponius Secundus, who for near seven years had been set as a guard over his brother, was at last delivered from his captivity. Caius likewise recalled all exiles, abolished for the time to come all accusations of high treason, the dread and terror of every citizen, and ordered all proceedings already began, to stop. He burnt a great heap of papers which he said were instructions and criminal proceedings of that kind left by Tiberius, and particularly letters from informers, and depositions of witnesses against his mother and brothers; protesting his design was to put it out of his own power ever to take any revenge on them, even if such a thought should chance at any time after to occur to him.

Suet. Calig. 15. *Dio.*

Such acts of clemency and justice filled every one with joy. People trusted to them, nor could they suspect deceit in so young a prince. But they were greatly mistaken; the papers he burnt were only copies: the originals he took care to keep, and knew too well how to make use of them so soon as he threw the mask aside.

His respect towards his relations.

In the mean time he acted his part most completely. Being sensible nothing would do him more honour in the eyes of the people than to seem fond of his relations, he visited the islands of Pandataria and Pontius, where the ashes of his mother Agrippina, and his elder brother Nero, had been left without funeral honours. The weather was very rough when he took that voyage; a circumstance that made his

generous

generous tenderness appears still greater: and when arrived there, he approached with the utmost respect and veneration that dear dust, and himself closed it in the urns: then putting them on board his own ship, he landed them, first at Ostia, and afterwards, going up the Tiber, at Rome, where they were received by the most illustrious among the order of knights, and with great pomp deposited in Augustus's tomb. It is probable he paid the same honours to the remains of his second brother, Drusus, who perished miserable at Rome in the palace of the Cæsars. He ordered funeral rites to be performed every year in memory of his mother and brothers: and to honour Agrippina in particular, games to be celebrated in the Circus, in which the statue of that princess was to be borne on a car: and on the other hand, to obliterate as much as possible the remembrance of her misfortunes, he pulled down a very fine country seat near Herculanum, where she had been kept prisoner some time. He likewise gave the name of Germanicus to the month of September; but the old name prevailed. A. R. 788. A. C. 37. *Sen. de ira* III. 22. *Suet. & Dio.*

He heaped all kinds of honours on his grandmother Antonia: granted her the surname of Augusta, the prerogatives of vestals, and all that Livia had enjoyed. He complimented his three sisters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Julia, with like distinctions: and carrying it to a pitch of ridicule, joined their names to his in all oaths, forms of vows and prayers, so that people were to say; *For the happiness and prosperity of Caius Cæsar and his sisters:* and on other occasions, *I swear I do not love myself and my own children better than I do*

A.R. 788. A. C. 37. *Caius Cæsar and his sisters.* He had no occasion to make so great a shew of his tenderness towards his sisters; he loved them but too well.

He affected a great regard for his cousin Tiberius Gemellus, whom he had deprived of his right to the empire. The day he made him take the virile robe, he adopted him, and declared him *Prince of the youth.* He was only adorning the victim before he sacrificed it. Even the silly Claudius, his uncle, had a share in these demonstrations of kindness. That prince, then forty-six years old, had always been held in such contempt, being an ideot, that he had never rose higher than the rank of Roman knight. Caius took him out of it, to make him at the same time a senator, and consul with himself.

He discharges the legacies left by Tiberius and Livia.

He caused Tiberius's will to be set aside, as I have already said; but all he wanted to annul was the article concerning Tiberius Gemellus. In every thing else Caius executed punctually the last desires of his predecessor, and discharged all the legacies, which were nearly of the same nature with those left by Augustus. He accordingly paid the people, the soldiers of the prætorian cohorts, those of the city, and the legions, the sums that were willed them, adding, by way of gratification to the prætorians, a sum equal to Tiberius's legacy. All that Caius paid on this occasion was esteemed a liberality, because, strictly speaking, he was not obliged to pay any thing left by a will that had been annulled. He added a kind of restitution highly pleasing to the people. As he had taken the virile robe at Capræa, without any ceremony, and no money

money had been given among the citizens on that occasion, he now gave them what Tiberius's closeness had withheld, and instead of two thousand three hundred sesterces to each, he added sixty more for the arrears. A.R. 788. A. C. 31.

Tiberius had left his mother's will unexecuted: Caius thought it a duty incumbent on him to discharge her legacies. Liberality was a virtue that cost him no pains to practice. All he wanted in that respect was to know where to stop, but that he never did. He gave, not with judgment and choice, but out of caprice and whim, heaping favours on the Pantomimes, whom he had taken care to recall, and on drivers of cars and horses in the Circus; spending immense sums in shews and games, combats of gladiators, and other such like follies; he dissipated in less than a year * two thousand three hundred, or, according to Suetonius, two thousand seven hundred millions of sesterces, which Tiberius died possessed of. His prodigality. *Suet. Calig.* 37.

But gifts, liberalities, plays and shews, always please the people, who do not foresee consequences, nor are sensible a thing is wrong till they feel it. They were charmed wi' the magnificence of Caius, joined to a most engaging popular behaviour. He revived the custom instituted by Augustus, but laid aside by Tiberius, of publishing a state of the revenues of the empire. He left the magistrates the free exercise of the functions of their respective offices, without appeal from their decisions Good actions. *Suet. Calig.* 15, 16.

* Upwards of eighteen millions of our money, or, according to Suetonius, nearer twenty-two millions.

A. R. 788. A. C. 87. cisions to the emperor. He reviewed the knights with a severity tempered with indulgence, degrading with ignominy such as had done any thing notoriously scandalous and bad, and striking off the list others less guilty. He restored the people to the right of electing their magistrates, which Tiberius had taken from them. *Dio.* He exempted Italy from the hundredth penny, levied on all that was sold by auction by public authority: and reduced to a sixth part, a slight acknowledgment, that all who were partakers of his liberalities of bread, corn and other food, were to pay towards maintaining the prince's statues. *Suet.* He indemnified several private persons for losses sustained by fire. Studious to reward virtue, he gave * eighty thousand sesterces to a free woman, for having undergone a severe torture, without revealing any thing that might hurt her patron. He strove greatly to suppress the monstrous debaucheries Tiberius had authorized by his own example: he would have such as were guilty of them burnt, nor was it without difficulty he was prevailed on to inflict only banishment. He declared he had no ears for informers; and somebody having presented him a memorial, saying, it concerned the prince's life, he refused to take it, answering, he had done nothing to make any one his enemy. He permitted the works of Cremutius Cordus, Cassius Severus, and some other authors, who had wrote with great warmth and freedom, to be revived and published. "It is my interest, said he, to have "the truth of facts made known to poste-"rity."

* *About* 650*l.*

By

By so many laudable actions he deservedly gained universal applause. A bust of gold was ordered to be made in honour of him, which on a certain day every year was to be carried to the capitol by the college of priests, whilst chorusses of young boys and girls of the first nobility, sung hymns to his praise. The day on which he took possession of the empire, was esteemed a day on which the city acquired a new life, and was ordered to be called *Palilia*, the name given to the day on which Rome was first founded. A. R. 788. A. C. 37. Demonstrations of public gratitude towards him.

The consulship was offered him immediately after his accession to the empire; but he had modesty enough to continue the consuls in ordinary, Proculus and Nigrinus, in their offices during the six months for which they had been appointed; and would not accept it but for the first of July, taking, as I have said, his uncle Claudius for his colleague. He kept that post but two months and twelve days, after which he surrendered it to those Tiberius had appointed. He is consul with Claudius. *Suet.* & *Dio.*

When he took possession of it he made a speech to the senate, in which summing up and criticising all he thought defective and vicious in Tiberius's government, he promised to be guided by very different maxims, at the same time laying down a perfect plan of government. The senate was charmed with him, and, to tie Caius down to what himself had said, and prevent his changing his system, ordered his speech to be read every year. A well judged precaution, but of little use against fickleness joined to power. His speech to the senate.

During

A.R.788. A. C. 37. He dedicates the temple of Augustus.

During his consulship, Caius dedicated the temple of Augustus built by Tiberius: and on that occasion gave magnificent feasts, which he repeated with still greater sumptuosity on his birth day, the thirty-first of August. The reader will hardly expect I should give him a particular account of all those puerilities, which can appear great or interesting, to none but little minds. I shall only collect such circumstances as denote the character of Caius.

Feasts and entertainments.

He gave entertainments of all kinds, plays, concerts of music, courses in the Circus, the game of Troy, combats of gladiators, hunting of wild beasts, surpassing all that had been done before him of that kind. His folly and extravagance was such, that on certain solemn occasions, the Circus was strewed with powdered vermilion and borax instead of sand, whilst the senators on their side, to make the games more illustrious, though at the expence of their honour, would let the cars be driven by none but themselves. Chariot-races were repeated four-and-twenty times a day, whereas they never before exceeded twelve. Five hundred bears, and a great number of wild beasts, brought from Africa, were killed in one hunt.

Caius was so passionately fond of these entertainments, that he would spend whole days at them; and expected others should be as assiduous, taking it much amiss if any came too late, or went away before they were ended. That there might be no reason or pretence for absence, the tribunals were ordered to be shut, mournings were shortened, and he made it his study to procure the spectators all sorts of conveniencies.

These

These feasts were accompanied with entertainments given to the senators and knights, and their wives and children; and during the diversions, baskets of victuals were distributed among the spectators, and Caius would feast like the rest of them, making himself quite familiar with the citizens, and taking notice of those that seemed to eat with the best appetite. Observing a Roman knight dispatching his portion most manfully, he sent him the victuals that had been brought for himself. He carried the joke farther with regard to a senator, instantly appointing him prætor for the same reason. To make magistracy the reward of eating heartily, was degrading it with a witness. Whatever related to public diversions touched him to the quick, and he added a fifth day to the saturnalia, to be observed for ever. A.R. 788. A. C. 37.

A dangerous illness he was seized with soon after he was out of his consulship, afforded him a most convincing and satisfactory proof how much the citizens loved him. The whole city was in the utmost agitation and uneasiness; many passed the whole night at his palace gate. Flattery too was called into their aid. One P. Potitius vowed his own life in exchange for the prince's; and a Roman knight called Atanius Secundus made a solemn promise to fight as a gladiator, if the gods restored Caius to the Roman people. Their zeal was but ill rewarded. The emperor recovering, obliged both of them to fulfil their vows, that they might not, said he, be guilty of perjury. Caius sick. General uneasiness. Vows dictated by flattery. Cruelty of Caius. *Suet. Cal.* 14, & 27. *& Dio.*

The first, adorned with vervein and fillets, as a victim devoted to the gods, was turned

over

A.R. 788. A. C. 37. over to a troop of children who led him about the streets of Rome, summoning him to do as he had vowed, and conducted him to the ramparts from whence he was thrown headlong down. If the other did not lose his life, it was owing to his valour and dexterity, and not to Caius, who forced him to fight, would be present at it, and would not suffer him to give over till he had conquered his adversary, and most humbly and earnestly begged several times to be excused exposing himself any more to such danger.

Epoch of his change of conduct.

This was the epoch of Caius's cruelties and the general depravity of his conduct. He was not the same man after that fit of sickness, but behaved like a madman on all occasions: whether it be that his constitution and reason were impaired; or, which is more likely, that tired of laying himself under any longer restraint, and seeing himself fixed on the throne, he gave an entire loose to the vicious bent of his mind and heart, which till then he had strove to keep within some bounds.

He puts Tiberius Gemellus to death. *Suet.* 15, & 23. & *Dio.*

He considered Tiberius Gemellus in the light of a rival that obstructed him, and got rid of him under pretence that that young prince had wished he might not recover from his sickness, and in consequence of those hopes had formed ambitious views. He accused him likewise of taking counter-poison, pretending he had smelt it, though in reality Tiberius was only taking something that had been prescribed him for a troublesome cough: but Caius would have it to be otherwise, and seeming highly incensed at a precaution that reflected on him, "What! said he, counter-poison with Cæsar!"

and

and immediately ordered a tribune with some centurions to go and kill Tiberius. To this death, so deplorable in itself, Philo adds some circumstances that excite still greater pity and compassion. He says, the officers sent by Caius were ordered not to kill Tiberius. But, because it was not lawful for any one to shed such illustrious blood, to compel him to kill himself. In vain the young prince presented himself to the murderers, begging, as his last request, that they would kill him. He was forced himself to execute Caius's barbarous commands; and as he had never seen any body killed, begged they would tell him where to stab himself, that he might die the sooner. The officers were inhuman enough to give him the fatal lesson, and he killed himself with the sword they lent him. Caius did not write to the senate on this occasion: and his silence is perhaps less blameable than the false colours with which he must have tried to cover his parricide. A.R. 788. A. C. 37. *Philo. Leg. ad Caium.*

To the death of Tiberius Gemellus, Dion Cassius adds that of Silanus, whose daughter Claudia Caius had been married to. Silanus was highly respected, not only for his birth and rank, but likewise for his merit and virtues. Tiberius had so great a regard for him, that he never would take cognizance of things once judged by him, but ordered back to him all that appealed from his decisions to the emperor. Silanus met, on the contrary, nothing but hatred and contempt from Caius, who had been his son in-law. When Tiberius died he was proconsul of Africa, and as such had the command of a legion. Caius took that command from Death of Silanus. *Suet.* 23. & *Dio.* *Tac. Hist.* iv. 48.

A.R. 788. A. C. 37. from him, to give it to a lieutenant, who was to be immediately accountable to the emperor only. That regulation subsisted, and the proconsul of Africa became a magistrate purely civil, and destitute of all military command.

Dio. On his return to Rome, Silanus enjoyed the honour of being the first, whose opinion was asked by the consul in the senate. That was but a bare honorary distinction without any prerogative, and had always been left to the consul's discretion. Caius, to deprive his father-in-law of it, ordered, that, from that time, all of consular dignity should vote according to their seniority and rank.

Suet. At last he took away his life under a frivolous pretence. Silanus, who was very old, desired to be excused accompanying the emperor in a little voyage Caius took by sea, on account of the fatigue and sickness he was subject to. So innocent a behaviour was construed a crime: and Caius pretended Silanus wanted to stay in Rome, only to have on opportunity of making himself master of the city, in case any accident should befal him: and on that foundation compelled him to cut his own throat with a razor.

Græcinus, having refused to accuse Silanus, is put to death. *Tac. Agr.* 4.

There seems to have been some form of proceeding against Silanus: for we learn from Tacitus, that Caius endeavoured to prevail on Julius Græcinus (a senator of great merit, whose virtues made him justly the object of a tyrant's hatred), to accuse him. He refused being concerned in a thing so odious, and unjust, and for that refusal was put to death.

Græcinus's

Græcinus's generosity in this was of a piece with all the rest of his conduct. Happening some time before to have games to celebrate, his friends offered him their purses to help out in the expence. Fabius Persicus, a man of a great name, but notorious for depravity of morals, having sent him a considerable sum of money, Græcinus refused it; and being blamed by some that were present, "Would "you have me, said he, receive money from "a man, from whom I would not * receive a "health at table?" Caninus Rebilus, a man of consular dignity, but as bad character as Fabius Persicus, likewise sent Græcinus a considerable present, and Crœcinus refused that too. Rebilus pressing him to accept it, "Excuse me, said he, I would not take Persius's money neither." So that Græcinus, without any other title or authority than his virtue only, erected himself into a kind of censor, shewing his approbation or dislike by accepting or refusing what favours were offered him. Such austerity is the more remarkable, as he was by birth much inferior to those he shewed his dislike of, by such contemptuous refusals; his father having been no more than a Roman knight, and himself being the first senator of his family. He was father to Agricola, whose memory is immortalized by Tacitus.

A.R. 788. A. C. 37. His stubborn virtue. *Sen. de Benef.* II. 21.

Caius's reign will afford us but few events relating to foreign affairs. The most glorious, or rather the only honourable one of that kind, is

Treaty concluded by Vitellius with Artabanus.

* It is proper to observe, that the way of giving a health among the Romans was, to drink first, and then present the cup to the person saluted

A.R. 786. A. C. 37. is the treaty concluded this year by L. Vitellius, governor of Syria, with Artabanes king of Parthia. That haughty prince, who had expressed nought but contempt for Tiberius, made the first overtures of friendship to Caius. He had an interview with Vitellius, on which occasion a bridge was built over the Euphrates. The conditions of the treaty were settled there to the advantage of the Romans. Artabanes burnt incense before the Roman eagles, and the statues of the emperors Augustus and Caius, and gave one of his sons, a child, named Darius, in hostage.

Suet. Calig. 14. & Vit. 2. Joseph. Antiq. XVIII. 6. & Dio.

Antiochus again put in possession of the kingdom of Commagena. *Dio.*

Dion Cassius says it was this year that the kingdom of Commagena, reduced into a Roman province by Germanicus under Tiberius, was restored to Antiochus. Agrippa, grandson to Herod by Aristobulus, and the most illustrious of the descendants of that famous king of the Jews, likewise felt Caius's liberality: and indeed he had a legal claim to it, being actually in disgrace on his account when Tiberius died. To understand this, we must of necessity resume the history of Agrippa somewhat higher.

History of Agrippa grandson to Herod. *Joseph. Antiq. l. XVIII.*

He had been brought up at Rome with Drusus, son of Tiberius, and his mother Berenice was in great esteem with Antonia, mother of Germanicus: by which means he was well acquainted with all the imperial family. Acquaintance and connections with people of that rank elated his mind, naturally high, and gave him still a stronger taste for shew, magnificence, and expences, beyond what he could afford.

He

He could no longer support himself in Rome, and the death of Drusus was a new motive why he should leave it, for Tiberius would not bear the sight of any that had belonged to his son's court, and called to mind the remembrance of him. Agrippa therefore returned to Judea, where he spent several years in a melancholy situation, ruined, greatly in debt, and continually drove to shifts how to subsist. A. R. 788. A. C. 37.

After several odd adventures, an account of which may be seen in Josephus, he returned to Italy, and was lucky enough to be well received by Tiberius, who ordered him to attach himself to Tiberius Gemellus. But Agrippa preferred Caius, from whom he rightly judged he might expect most. He was very near ruining himself however by his indiscretion.

In a conversation with Caius, he said he wished Tiberius might die soon to make room for him; adding, his cousin was but a child that might easily be got rid off. This discourse was overheard by the coachman that drove them, who was a freeman of Agrippa's; his name, Eutyches. Some time after, having robbed his master and fearing to be punished, he went and accused him, getting somebody to tell Tiberius that Agrippa betrayed him. Tiberius took little notice of it, and the thing would have dropped, had not Agrippa been obstinately bent on his own destruction. He insisted on having satisfaction from his servant, and not in the least dreaming of what he had spoke in private to Caius, used all his credit, and even Antonia's, to make the emperor hear

A.R. 788. A. C. 37. hear Eutyches. Tiberius yielded to his importunities, and was no sooner informed of what had passed, but he ordered Agrippa to be put in irons. The unfortunate prince remained in that condition till Caius, becoming emperor by Tiberius's death, immediately set him at liberty, loaded him with favours, and made him a present of a golden chain in exchange for his iron one; he gave him too the ornaments of prætor, and the title of king, with the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias then vacant, and united to the government of Syria. He had but too much confidence in him, as well as in Antiochus of Commagena, if it be true, as was generally thought in Rome, that they gave him lessons of tyranny.

Philo in Flacc.

Dio.

Disgrace and death of Pilate.

Tillem. R. des. Juifs. art. 6, & 10.

Pilate began this year to feel the effects of divine vengeance. Obstinate and hard-hearted, his violences had given rise to several disturbances and seditions among the people entrusted to his care: having never known what it was to yield, except when he ought to have defended the innocence and justice of Jesus Christ; he was at length, at the request of the Jews and Samaritans, and in consequence of their complaints, deposed by Vitellius, after having been magistrate ten years. Returning to Rome he found new disgraces to suffer there. The tradition of Vienna in Dauphiny is, that he was banished to that town. M. de Tillemont thinks he died in the fortieth year of Christ.

The consuls for the year next following Tiberius's death, had been appointed by that prince, and Caius confirmed his nomination.

M. Aquilius

M. Aquilius Julianus.
P. Nonius Asprenas. A.R.789. A. C. 38.

ON the first of January the oaths to observe Augustus's institutions were taken according to custom. Caius's name was added to the formulary, but no mention made of Tiberius. This omission subsisted in after times, and Tiberius was not included in the list of emperors, whose laws the Romans used every year to swear they would observe. Tiberius's name omitted in the oath of the first of January.

Dion Cassius relates about this time some of Caius's laudable or popular acts, which we have chosen rather to collect together and present the reader at one view. Of that number is, restoring the people to their liberty of meeting to chuse magistrates, which can belong to no other year than this, because the consuls in office were of Tiberius's naming. What Caius did on this occasion was very specious, and seemed to promise great things in favour of liberty. The truth is, it was a burden to the great, and not of any real advantage to the people, who had the power of electing only in appearance, but had long been accustomed not to do any thing but with the good-will and pleasure of their masters. This empty shew lasted but a short time. The same fickleness that made Caius, without any great reason, restore to the people that shadow of their old prerogatives, made him take it from them again the next year; and the method introduced by Tiberius was followed. Right of Elections restored to, and soon after taken from the people.

But those are things of less importance. Caius's cruelty was an evil much to be dreaded, Cruelty of Caius

A.R.789 A. C. 38. and it increased daily. The pretence he made use of against many, was the share he had had in his mother's and brother's misfortunes. As perfidious as he was cruel, he then produced the original papers relating to those melancholy affairs, which he had pretended to burn: and old faults that had been pardoned were punished with the utmost rigour.

Suet. Calig. 15, & 30. *Dio.*

He likewise caused the death of a great number of Roman knights, by forcing them to fight as gladiators: but what was most to be feared was the greediness with which he glutted himself with the blood of unhappy criminals; seeing it flow with a joy he did not even attempt to conceal. He set so little value on the lives of men, that one day there not being criminals enough to deliver to the wild beasts, he ordered the first that chanced to be in the way to be taken out of the people that were looking on, and thrown to them: but first commanded the poor men's tongues to be cut out, to prevent their complaining of his barbarity.

Suet. Calig. 21.

Suetonius has collected together, as he generally does, such instances as he thought most proper to give a general idea of Caius's monstrous cruelty. One cannot read it without horror. It will be enough for us, and much more than we would wish, to relate some of the most circumstantial, and most remarkably atrocious.

Death of Macro. *Suet. Calig.* 26. *Dio.*

The death of Macro might be thought a condign punishment, had it been ordered by any other than the prince who was under so great obligations to him. I can hardly credit what Philo relates concerning the cause of his death. He says that Macro made Caius his

Philo in Flacc. & Leg. ad C.

enemy,

enemy, by remonstrating too freely about the excesses he was running into. That were thinking very honourably of a wicked wretch, who might not approve of his master's enormous vice, but whose interest it was not to have the prince be virtuous. It is much more natural to suppose that Macro, raising Caius to the empire, hoped to govern him, and make a fortune equal to that of Sejanus, and perhaps with the same views, and same expectations too. His own pride, and Caius's ingratitude, were doubtless the true cause of the fall of that prætorian præfect. Caius had named him præfect of Egypt: which, if I mistake not, was a beginning of disgrace, cloathed under a shew of favour. For to be præfect of Egypt was thought a very great thing, and esteemed the highest pitch of honour a knight could possibly attain: but the præfect of the prætorian cohorts had a much greater, and more solid power. History is so barren in this respect, that we must take up with conjectures. What is certain is, that Macro, accused by Caius of several crimes, and even of some of those they had committed in concert, was forced to kill himself; and his disaster brought on the ruin of his whole family. Ennia, his wife, was punished by Caius, for the criminal complaisance she had shewn him; and he had imbibed the maxims of cruelty too strong, to spare the children of a father and mother he had put to death. A.R.789. A. C. 38.

Our authors have not fixed the exact time of Caius's ill usage of his grandmother Antonia, nor of the death of that princess, which was the consequence of it. I place those Death of Antonia. *Suet. Calig.* 23. *Dio.*

A.R.789. A. C. 38. events here, rather than under the first year of his reign, to avoid connecting too closely times, during which he still masked his vice under the specious appearance of virtue. Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia, beloved by her uncle Augustus, and esteemed by Tiberius, was at first greatly honoured and respected by his grandson, as we have seen. He was indebted to her for part of his education, having spent with her the three or four years that intervened from Livia's death to the time of Tiberius's calling him to him at Capræa. The respect he paid his grandmother, on his accession to the empire was forced and constrained. His behaviour in that point altered so greatly, that Antonia having desired a private audience, Caius refused it, and would have Macro present. Offering to give him advice on some particular occasion, he interrupted her with an angry and menacing look, saying, "I would have you to know I am mas-" ter, and can do what I please, and to whom "I please without distinction." He was perpetually insulting and affronting her, and hastened her death by grief, if he did not more immediately occasion it by poison. None of those honours due to her rank were paid her memory: so forgetful was he of all decorum and decency, that he sat quietly at table in a room, from whence he saw his grandmother's corpse consumed on the funeral pile.

Caius takes pleasure in defaming his ancestors. *Suet. Calig.* 23.

He had no respect for any thing: took a pleasure in defaming his ancestors, as if the shame of their actions, had there been any, would not reflect upon himself. He would not be thought Agrippa's grandson, on account

count of the obscure birth of that great man, who possessed so eminent a degree of true nobility, his virtues and his talents; but pretended his mother Agrippina was the incestuous offspring of Augustus and his own daughter Julia. And, not content with imputing a most horrid and abominable crime to a prince to whom he owed so much, he cried down his victories gained at Actium and in Sicily, as fatal to the republic. I have already said, he used to call his great-grandmother, Livia, *an Ulysses in petticoats*. In a letter of his to the senate, he attacks her birth, affirming she was no more than the daughter of a burgess of the little town of Fundi: a reproach, ridiculous in his mouth, even had it been true; which it was not; for Aufidius, grandfather to Livia by the mother's side, had been a magistrate in Rome. A. R. 789. A. C. 38.

His mad and incestuous love of his sisters. *Suet. Calig.* 24. & *Dio.*

The excesses he was guilty of with regard to his sisters, are a mixture of all sorts of crimes and follies. We have seen what extravagant demonstrations he gave them of his love and tenderness on his accession to the empire. He loved them otherways than a brother ought to do: nor did he even attempt to hide it. At table he would make them take by turns the place next him that debauchees generally assigned their mistresses.

But Drusilla was his favourite. It is said he debauched her very young, at the time they were educated together at their grandmother Antonia's. After he was made emperor, he annulled her marriage with L. Cassius, and kept her in his palace on the footing of a legitimate wife; which however did not prevent

A.R.789. A. C. 38. vent his marrying her to M. Lepidus, the companion of his most infamous and most unnatural debauches. What a complication of horrors! In the great fit of sickness he had, he declared her heiress to all his real estate, and to the empire: and when death took her away in the prime of life, towards the middle of the year we are now treating of, Caius thought it not enough to heap on her every honour that could be done a mortal, but would make a goddess of her. A temple, statues, priests, and every thing belonging to divine worship, were lavished on her with prodigality. A senator, named Livius Geminius, swore he saw her ascend into heaven; imprecating the most dreadful curses on himself and his children if he did not speak truth, and devoting himself to the wrath of the angry gods, and particularly of the goddess that had just taken place amongst them. * A million of sesterces was the reward of his impious flattery. Caius himself set the example of honouring as a goddess, her whom he had made the most criminal of women: and on the most solemn occasions, haranguing the people or soldiers, would swear by the divinity of Drusilla.

* About 8000*l.*

Sen. ad Polyb. 36. His grief was at first mixed with rage and madness. He fled from Rome in the middle of the night; traversing Campania with all speed; went to Syracuse, and returned from thence with a long beard and dishevelled hair. In the midst of his grief he amused himself however in a manner worthy Caius; by playing at dice. The whole empire was ordered to go into mourning: Philo says it in particular

Philo in Flacc.

ticular of the city of Alexandria. The great difficulty was how to behave during the mourning: joy and sadness were equally criminal and dangerous. The first were accused of rejoicing for Drusilla's death, the latter of lamenting her divinity. Such were the contradictions and inconsistencies Caius was composed of. A.R.789. A. C. 38.

His passion for his two other sisters was neither so strong nor so lasting. He even treated them with infamy, prostituting them to the companions of his debauches. At last, growing quite tired of them, they were banished, as we shall say by and by.

His debauches of all kinds. *Suet. Calig.* 36.

Not to return any more to what relates to his shameful lewdness, I shall say in one word, that no kind of debauchery, however horrible, could be imagined, into which he did not plunge himself. Adultery could not terrify him who thought incest a sport; and Suetonius assures us, hardly a lady of distinction in Rome escaped his tyrannical violence. Had any dared to resist, it might probably have cost them their lives: but they did not force him to these extremes. They were no longer those old Romans who valued themselves, the women on their virtue and chastity, and the men on their bravery, and the glory they acquired in arms. The true value of chastity was at that time known to Christianity only.

His marriages. *Suet. Calig.* 25 & *D.*

Soon after Drusilla's death he married Lollia Paulina: she was his third wife. His first, as we have seen, was Claudia, daughter to Silanus, who died before he was emperor. The second, Livia Orestilla, whom he forced from C. Piso, the very day they were married. Not

was

A.R.789. A. C. 38. was he ashamed of having committed such an act of violence, but on the contrary acquainted the people, by writing publicly posted up, that he had married as Augustus and Romulus had done. He kept Orestilla but a few days, after which he repudiated her, and two months after that banished both her and C. Piso, under pretence, whether true or false is not certain, that they cohabited together. His behaviour to Lollia was not less inconsiderate and wrong. She was then in Macedonia with her husband Memmius Regulus, governor of that province. Caius being told that lady's grandmother had been extremely handsome, ordered her immediately to come to court, forced Regulus not only to yield her up, but to authorise her, as if he had been her father, to marry him: just as Tiberius Nero had done when Livia married Augustus. A wife so earnestly sought was not the better beloved. Caius soon turned her off, forbidding her ever to keep company with any man.

The next year he married Milonia Cesonia, who was neither young nor handsome, and had already three children by another husband: but she had graces which she well knew how to display, and was mistress of all the refinements of corruption: and accordingly Caius's passion for her was equally strong and durable: she alone could fix his mad wandering heart. The thing appeared so astonishing, that people could not account for it but by supposing Cesonia had given him a philter, or love-powder, that had taken a stronger effect than she intended, and hurt the prince's brain; for which reason they accused her of all the mad things he did.

Suet. Calig. 50. & Dio.

It

It is very certain Caius's mind was disordered, and it is said he was sensible of it himself: but there is no occasion to have recourse to singular and extraordinary accidents to account for it. From his infancy he was subject to the falling sickness; and in his most vigorous time of life was suddenly seized with such weaknesses and faintings, that he could neither walk nor faint. He was troubled with a continual want of sleep, hardly ever closing his eyes three hours together, and very restless all that time with horrid dreams. He spent the greatest part of the night impatiently waiting and wishing for day, now laying down on a couch, then walking with hasty steps through the vast halls and galleries of the palace. All these were proofs and symptoms of a disordered brain, which indeed might be encreased by Cesonia's criminal indiscretions. A.R.789. A. C. 38.

He had loved her before they were married, and the day she was brought to bed he declared he was husband to the mother, and father to the child, which proved a girl, and was named Julia Drusilla. He carried her to the temples of all the goddesses; and set her on Minerva's knees, to whom he recommended the care of her education. According to Josephus he likewise set her on Jupiter's knees, pretending that god, as well as himself, was her father: and bidding the people judge from which of them two she drew the noblest origin. Not that he had any doubt who was the child's real father, her savage fierceness plainly spoke her his, and so great was it, even in her tenderest infancy, that she was continually scratching and *Suet. Calig.* 25. & *Dio.* *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. xix. 1.

driving

A.R.789. striving to thrust her fingers into her play-fel-
aft. C.38. lows' eyes.

He causes divine honours to be paid himself. *Suet. Calig.* 22. *Dio.*

After violating the most sacred laws of man, Caius had nothing more left to do but to insult the divinity itself openly and directly, by sacrilegiously usurping the worship and honour that belong to God only: and that he did with all the rage and fury a character like his could be capable of. He declared his mind on that subject, on occasion of a dispute between some kings that were come to pay their court to him. Their dispute turned on precedence, dignity, and nobility of birth. Caius on a sudden cried out, reciting a line of Homer, "One "* only master, one only king;" and was very near snatching up the diadem immediately, and making himself be proclaimed king of Rome. To avoid that blow, which would have greatly hurt the Romans, who preserved hardly any remains of their ancient liberty except their hatred to the name of king, some, more wise, represented to him, that he was far above all kings: on which he resolved to make himself a god.

Soon forgetting how he had forbid, on his accession to the empire, any statues to be erected to him, he now would have temples, prayers, and sacrifices. His first step was to borrow the names of all the divinities the Pagan superstition acknowledged; and he took care to imitate them by his crimes. His incestuous commerce with his sisters, made him in particular worthy of being called another Jupiter. With the names, he likewise assumed the

* Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς. *Hom. Il.* ii. 204.

the attributes and ornaments of those divini- A.R.789.
ties: sometimes he was Bacchus or Hercules, A. C. 38.
at another time Juno, Diana, or Venus. Now he would appear in an effeminate manner with the hogshead and Thyrsus; by and by his looks would seem to speak something robust and manly, clad in a lion's skin, and armed with a club. One hour he had no beard, and the next a long golden one. To-day he would appear with the trident, to-morrow armed with thunder. Now a warlike virgin, with a helmet on his head, and Medusa's snaky locks on his breast, he represented Minerva; and a moment after, in dress and desires breathing nought but effeminacy, he became a Venus. And under all these various disguises would he receive the vows, offerings and sacrifices, proper to each of the divinities he pretended to represent.

Dion Cassius says, that one day an honest Gaul seeing him give audience seated on a high throne, and dressed like a Jupiter Capitolinus, burst out into laughter. Caius calling him, "What do you think of me," said he, "I "think, answered the Gaul, you look so I can- "not help laughing at you." Such an answer would have cost a Roman of any distinction his life; but was not heeded from a Gaul, a shoemaker by trade, Caius thinking him beneath his notice.

To act the part of a Jupiter the better, he had machines made, by the help of which he would answer claps of thunder, with a noise somewhat like them, and dart lightning against lightning. If the thunder fell, he would throw a stone up towards heaven, and call out

A.R.789. A. C. 38. out to Jupiter, "Kill * me, or I'll kill thee." But then he must be in his courageous fits: for generally, when he heard it thunder, he turned pale, trembled, and hid his face; and if the clap was loud, would hide himself under the bed.

A very odd and whimsical fancy came into his head; he would have gods for his door-keepers. With that view he extended one of the wings of his palace next the forum, as far as the temple of Castor and Pollux, which he made it open into, so that the temple was the entrance to it: and he would often seat himself between the statues of the two brother gods, to intercept, by that trick, the adorations that were paid to them.

Suet. Calig. 22. & *Dio.* The capitol was the great object of his ambition. At first he had a room or chapel built him there, that he might be lodged under the same roof with Jupiter. But being soon displeased at holding only the second rank, he would have a temple entirely to himself. Accordingly he had one built in the palace: and, to have a statue worthy him, ordered that of Jupiter the Olympian to be brought to Rome, the head of which he purposed taking off, to put his own in its place. This order, of which we anticipate the mention here, was not given till the last year of his reign and life. The people, superstitiously fond of that statue, the admirable work of Phidias, was uneasy at it. The

* Η' μ' ἀνάσαι' ἢ ἐγώσε. *Hom. Il.* XXIII. 724. The sense of this passage is, "down with me, or I will down with thee." *Ajax* wrestling with *Ulysses* uses these words, and *Caligula* considered himself as wrestling with *Jupiter*.

The priests acted with cunning: they gave out, that the ship destined to transport the statue had been struck with lightning; that the statue would not let any body come near it, but had set up such fits of laughter, as had frighted the workmen who were going to move it; in short, that there was no attempting to stir it, without danger of its being broke to pieces. Memmius Regulus, governor of Macedonia and Achaia, gave Caius an account of those obstacles which prevented the execution of his orders. But Caius was inflexible in whatever he had once resolved: he knew not what it was to hearken to remonstrances; and had not death delivered mankind from him, the liberty Regulus had presumed to take, would probably have cost him his life. A.R.789. A. C.38. *Joseph. Antiq. xix. 1.*

The statue of Jupiter Olympias remained then in its old place: but Caius's plan was accomplished in all other respects. In his own temple was a golden statue of him, done from the life, which was dressed every day in the same cloaths he wore. There the choicest victims were offered up to him, such as peacocks, pheasants, and other rare and delicate birds. He appointed himself a college of priests, of which number were Cesonia his wife, his uncle Claudius, and all the richest men of Rome, whom he made pay ten * millions of sesterces for that honour; a most enormous tax, which ruined Claudius, who, not being able to pay the treasury the sum he had engaged for, had all his effects and estate seized, and put up to sale. Caius put himself at the head of the college of his own priests, and made his horse a member of it, and indeed *Suet. Calig. 22. & Dio.*

* *About eighty thousand pounds of our money.* *Suet. Claud. 9.*

A.R.789. A.C. 38. deed, as M. de Tillemont says, the most worthy member of them all.

His follies with regard to his horse. *Suet. Cal.* 55. & *Dio.*

Every body knows what follies he committed about that horse. He called him *Incitatus*. He built him a stable of marble, an ivory manger; his trappings were purple, and he had a necklace of pearls. The evening before Incitatus was to run in the Circus, soldiers were set centry all round the neighbourhood, to prevent any noise being made that might disturb his rest. That was not all. Caius formed a household for him, gave him servants, furniture, kitchen, cooks, &c. that those he was pleased to invite to dinner might be well received: himself would invite him to his own table, and treat him with gilt oats, making him drink wine out of a golden cup, of which himself always tasted first. He would swear by the welfare and good fortune of his horse, and we are assured he would have made him consul had not death prevented.

Other proofs of his madness. *Suet. Calig.* 59 & *Dio.*

These were madnesses visibly beyond the degree of folly inseparable from vice: they manifestly prove a distempered brain. No wonder if a prince, who could make his horse his table companion, should take it into his head to marry the moon, calling out aloud to her whenever he saw her appear in the skies. Of the same kind were his private conversations with the statue of Jupiter, in the ear of which he would whisper, asking him questions, and answering them himself, and talking as if they were carrying on a conversation, sometimes in a kind and friendly tone and action, and at others as if angry and displeased. He has

has been heard to threaten his Jupiter, that he would * banish him to an island of Greece. We shal' take another opportunity to speak of the cruelties and persecutions the Jews suffered on account of Caius's impious and sacrilegious follies. A.R.789. A. C. 38.

During the year we are closing the account of, Vespasian, afterwards emperor, was edile; and as such had the care of the civil government of the city, and to have the streets kept clean. Caius finding some dirt in them one day, ordered it to be thrown upon Vespasian's robe. This adventure, after his accession to the empire, was thought an omen of the grandeur to which he was destined. Caius was thought to have foretold Vespasian, by that action, that it would one day fall to his lot to restore the city to its lustre, tarnished by the disorders of factions, as by a dirty filth: a memorable example of the ridicule of arbitrary interpretations, applied to things after they have happened. Vespasian, being edile, covered with dirt by Caius's order.

Caius made the people name him consul for the next year, with Apronius.

Caius Augustus II.	A.R. 790
L. Apronius Cæsianus.	A.C. 39

He held this consulship but thirty days, but kept his colleague employed six months. On taking possession of that post, and on leaving it, he took, like others, the usual oaths on those occasions, ascending to that end the tribune for harangues, as had been practised Caius's second consulship. *Suet. Calig.* 11. & *Dio*

* Εἰς γῆν τιν Δαναΐδων πεμφθῆναι.

A.R.790. A.C. 39. practised under the republican government. That is all the good we shall have to say of him during the course of this year: the rest is a composition of mad caprices, cruel and bloody deeds, heightened by a desire of plunder and rapine, and by the indigence to which his bad economy had reduced him.

His extravagant expences. *Suet. Calig.* 37.

He had dissipated, as I have already said, the immense treasures left by Tiberius: nor is it to be wondered at, if to his enormous expences in games, shews and diversions, we add, all the extravagancies a madman could commit, ever forming the wildest projects, and piquing him on executing them. He used to say ** *one ought either to be frugal, or to be Cæsar:* and valuing his greatness by the monstrous extent of what caprices he could have satisfied, whatever he could think of most strange and out of the way, was what pleased him most: costly perfumes prodigally wasted, pearls of value dissolved in vinegar and then swallowed, tables covered with loaves and viands of gold, large sums thrown to the people several days together, and the whole left to them to plunder. He spent in one entertainment ten millions of sesterces, a matter of eighty thousand pounds of our money. He built ships of cedar, the sterns of which were adorned with precious stones, and the sails dyed of different colours; and in them were baths, portico's, large dining rooms, and what is most extraordinary, vines and fruit trees. These ships were destined to carry him along the coasts of Campania. When he built a villa

Sen. ad Helv. c. 9.

* Aut frugi hominem esse oportere aut Cæsarem. *Suet.*

villa for his amusement, as he did a great many, the more difficulties he met with, the more he was delighted; and to tell him a thing was impossible, was to give him the strongest desire to have it done. In fact, he executed most surprizing things, such as piers built a great way out in a deep and stormy sea, vast masses of rock levelled, vallies raised as high as the hills, mountains laid even with vallies; and all with incredible diligence and dispatch; for if the undertakers failed a moment of their fixed time, their lives were in danger. A.R. 790. A. C. 39.

It was that taste for extraordinary and wonderful things that made him think of piercing the isthmus of Corinth of building a town on the summit of the Alps, of rebuilding Polycrates's palace at Samos, and other such like projects that made a great noise and were of little use. Suetonius mentions but one work really useful undertaken by that prince, which was an aqueduct, left imperfect. Josephus speaks of a harbour he wanted to make near Rhegium, to receive the ships that brought corn from Alexandria. That scheme was a good and well judged one, but was never put in execution. Rome was however indebted to him for a real ornament, an obelisk brought from Egypt at a vast expence, still to be seen in St Peter's Square. Among the Egyptians, obelisks were religious monuments, and consecrated to the sun. Caius might perhaps intend that I am speaking of for some sacrilegious worship. Sixtus the fifth has made better use of it. *Suet. Calig.* 21. *Joseph. Antiq.* xix. 2. *Plin.* xvi. 40. *and* xxxvi. 8. *Suet. Claud.* c. 20.

His rapine

Caius having exhausted his treasures by his mad expences, sought in cruelty and rapine

A.R.790. A. C. 39. *Suet. Calig.* 38. 41. & *Dio.*

remedy for the bad state of his finances. He put all kinds of extortions and vexations in use both against the public and against private persons. He laid on excessive and unheard of taxes, which were levied by the tribunes and centurions of the prætorian cohorts. No man was exempted, no thing that did not pay. Law-suits, the hire of porters, prostitutes, and even marriages were taxed.

A very extraordinary circumstance relating to those taxes or imposts was, that they were levied without any previous publication or notice: numbers consequently could not comply with them through ignorance; yet they were punished either by forfeitures or fines. At length, forced by the cries of the multitude, Caius caused his orders to be posted up, but in such small characters, and in so inconvenient a place, that nobody could come near enough to read them.

So low a trick could become none but a prince that would cheat at play. But what shall we say or think of his keeping a brothel in his own palace, to reap the profits of that infamous commerce? Caius was extreme in every vice. He loved money to that degree, that he would walk on it barefooted, and roll himself in the heaps of gold and silver he extorted by rapine and oppression.

The folly, indecency, and injustice of Caius are beyond conception. All we can do is to credit them on the faith of grave historians by whom they are recorded. So, for example, he often practised an expedient to make money that one would hardly think of in a Roman emperor; which was to turn merchant of all

sorts

sorts of things, which he sold at exorbitant prices. People were forced to buy whether they would or not, and citizens of distinction fearing their opulence might excite the prince's avarice, would often be glad to lose part of their wealth by bargains of that kind, in hopes of preserving their lives, and enjoying the rest of their fortunes in peace. A. R. 790. A. C. 39.

There often happened in these kind of bargains, things that one would be tempted to call comic, had not the consequences been very serious. One day that Caius was selling by auction some gladiators, himself still bidding higher and higher, an ancient prætor, called Aponius Saturninus, who was at the sale, chanced to fall asleep, so that his head now and then nodded forward. Caius observing him, ordered the crier to take notice of that senator, who by the frequent motions of his head seemed to out-bid him. The joke was carried a great length, and Aponius, at last awaking, was greatly surprised to find thirteen gladiators adjudged to him for nine * millions of sesterces, which he was obliged to pay. We may with great probability conclude, he was of the number of those that Suetonius tell us had their veins opened through despair, their fortunes being ruined by adventures of this kind. * 720000 l.

During Caius's stay in Gaul, the occasion of which we shall speak of soon, it happened that a Gaul gave the officers, directed to invite the guests, two hundred thousand sesterces to have the honour of supping with the emperor. Caius was told of it, and was not at all displeased to find his company valued at so high a rate. The next day, at a sale he was mak-

A.R.790. ing, at which the same Gaul was present, he
A. C. 39. ordered some trifle or other to be adjudged him for two hundred thousand sesterces, saying, You shall sup with the emperor, invited by himself."

The vexations Caius practised on all sorts of people to extort money, are numberless. He annulled privileges granted by his ancestors, to make people buy them over again. Those who had grown rich since the last general taxation, were accused of having concealed what they were worth, and punished accordingly by forfeiture of their estates. The slightest pretence sufficed him to attack his subjects wills; and accordingly he caused the senate to ordain, that all who had intended to leave Tiberius any legacy, should be obliged to leave the same to Caius. This decree contained a most remarkable clause, plainly proving, that even his violent tyranny did not yet entirely invalidate the republican constitution of the state. As the law Papia Poppæa annulled all gifts or legacies made by will, to persons who had neither wife nor children, and * Caius happened then to be in that case, the senate dispensed the prince from that part of the law.

Caius likewise appropriated to himself the inheritances of the people of the army, and annulled, as savouring of ingratitude, the wills of all the old centurions who had not made the emperor their heir since the time of Germanicus's triumph. He wanted, properly speaking,

* This must consequently have been before his marriage with Cæsonia, and in the interval between that and Caius's former marriages.

speaking, to be sole heir to all the citizens, A.R.390.
and if he could but find any one to say the de- A. C. 39.
ceased person did intend to leave all he had to Cæsar, he desired no better title to take it. He took care to belong to all the rich families, by adopting them or their children as in a joke; and in his letters to them, making use of a pretended caressing and endearing stile, would call them his father and mother, or grandfather and grandmother, according to their ages. From that hour they were obliged to put him in their wills: and if they happened to live long, he said they were only laughing at him, and sent poisoned pyes and sweetmeats to several.

We have said, in Tiberius's reign, what vexations were practised by Corbulo on those that were to repair and take care of the high ways. Caius revived them with the assistance of that same Corbulo, who served him too well for the public repose and for his own honour. What was possessed by the living, and what had been left by the dead, that had been in any shape concerned in any thing relating to the highways, was subjected to taxes as unjust as they were heavy. Corbulo received the consulship as a reward from Caius: but under Claudius he had the mortification of seeing all proceedings that had been carried on at his suit and instigation, set aside, and amends made to those he had unjustly condemned.

The means made use of by Caius to raise money were, as we may see, generally litigious, and often required some proceedings at law. He made himself sole judge of them, and before he took his seat to examine those kind of affairs, fixed the sum at which he valued his

A.R.790. A. C. 39. his attendance, nor would rise till he had it. He did not want much time for those operations; delays did not suit him: in one day and at one sitting he condemned forty persons accused of different crimes; after which, quite proud of what he had done, he went to Cæsonia, and told her what a sum he had been getting while she was taking her afternoon's nap.

Sometimes he would not study even those slender appearances of formalities. One day playing at dice, he started up and bid his next neighbour play for him: then stepping to the entry, ordered two rich Roman knights, who were accidentally passing by, to be arrested, decreed their estates forfeited, and returned to play, saying, he had never played with such luck.

Suetonius gives us that particularity: Dion Cassius mentions another of the same nature, whilst Caius was in Gaul, with this difference only, that the latter is much more heinous. He was at play, and his money falling short, he ordered the public register, containing the names of all the inhabitants of Gaul, and an account of what each was worth, to be brought him: then condemned a number of the richest Gauls to die. "How I pity you, said he, turning "round to those that were playing with him, "here are you contending a long time about a "trifling sum of sesterces, whilst I have won "* six hundred millions in a moment."

Law against high treason revived. *Dio.*

Accusations for pretended crimes of high treason were a most convenient invention, which left the lives and fortunes of the most illustrious of Rome entirely at the emperor's mercy. Caius had abolished those odious proceedings at a time

* Little less than five millions of our money.

time when he judged it his interest to gain the love of the people. He revived them in the year of his second consulship, and that in such a manner as spread terror and consternation throughout the whole city. A.R. 790. A. C. 39.

He made an elaborate speech to the senate in praise of Tiberius, he who till then had always taken pleasure in reviling, and hearing others say every thing ill of him. The senators, he said, were highly guilty for having taken such liberties; "For me, continued he, "who am emperor, I may do it: but such "presumption in you is a violation of the "respect you owe to the memory of him who "was your head and your prince." He proved that they were so much the more to blame, as they had all partaken, either as accusers, witnesses or judges, in the cruelties they reproached Tiberius with. He shewed them how inconsistently they behaved in blaming a prince when dead, whom they had praised and extolled whilst alive. "So it was, said he, that you "first puffed up and spoiled Sejanus by your "flatteries, and then killed him: I well know "what I am to expect myself from these your "fickle humours; and plainly see no good is "ever to be got out of you."

Then he introduced Tiberius speaking to him, and approving what he had said, in these terms: "Admirably spoken, Caius; nothing "is more true than what you have said: for "which reason I would not have you love any "of those fellows, nor spare one of them: "they all hate you; they all wish your death, "and will kill you if they can. Never think "therefore of doing them any good; and if "they

A.R.790. A.C. 39. "they murmur, never mind them; but let your own pleasure and your own safety be your only care, and the only law you acknowledge. By following these maxims no harm will come to you; you will enjoy all your wishes: and what is more, they will honour and respect you, either of their own accord, or by force. Whereas, if you act otherwise, no real use or advantage will result to you from it; all you can gain will be a vain-glory, accompanied with snares into which you will fall, and in which you will perish miserably. No man obeys willingly. They pay their court to the stronger, so long as they fear him; but the moment they think they can despise him with impunity, they fail not to revenge themselves." Machiavel, we see, was not the first author of this detestable policy, which founds the prince's security on the subjects oppression, and substitutes terror and violence, and consequently a reciprocal and implacable hatred, in the room of duty and affection.

After delivering these tyrannical maxims, that no one might imagine they had escaped him, through vivacity or inadvertency, Caius ordered his speech to be engraved on a column of brass; he revived the law against high treason; and immediately left the senate and city, and retired to the suburbs.

We may readily judge in what consternation he left the senators: not one dared open his mouth, nor utter a single word. They parted, and spread about the city the news of this terrible speech, which made every one guilty:

guilty: for there was not a citizen who had not spoken ill of Tiberius. A.R. 790. A. C. 39.

The senate met again the next day, and came to a resolution, the usual resource of the weak, to endeavour, by flattery and soothing means, to disarm the wrath of an inhuman prince. Such praises as he least deserved, and which he must have taken for reproaches, had not his pride blinded him, were bestowed on Caius. They praised him for being a friend to truth, and full of mildness. The senators owned they owed their lives to his goodness: they ordered sacrifices to be offered up to his clemency every year, on the day on which he read the discourse that instructed them so well in their duty. A statue of gold, solemn pomp, hymns to his honour, all these were ordered. In short, the lesser triumph was decreed him, as if he had conquered some enemy to the state.

All these meannesses of the senate were of little use. Caius, stimulated by want and greediness after money, carried his cruelties to the greatest extremes. He condemned himself, or made the senate condemn a great number of illustrious persons, whose names were posted up publicly by his order, as if he had apprehended his tyrannical exploits would not be sufficiently notorious. Dion Cassius did not chuse to weary his readers by too long an account of those bloody executions, and we shall make what he says shorter still. But we cannot omit Junius Priscus, at that very time prætor, who not proving very rich after he had been put to death, made Caius insultingly say, "This man has deceived me: he does not pay "for his death: he might have lived."

Domitius

A.R.790. A. C. 39. Domitius Afer's readiness of mind when in the greatest danger.

Domitius Afer, famous for his eloquence, was at that time in the utmost danger, from which he luckily escaped, by a readiness of mind suited to the critical situation he was in. We have seen how, under Tiberius, he assisted Sejanus in his wicked designs against the family of Germanicus, by accusing Claudia Pulcra, related to Agrippina. Caius bore him a grudge for it. But his greatest crime was, that he was the first orator of his age. For Caius valued himself on his eloquence, nor was it entirely without reason; especially if he was to speak against any one; he then never was at a loss for ideas, nor proper expressions: his tone of voice, attitude, and every action, were quite proper. He was naturally vehement, and of course held in great contempt all studied ornaments of speech, and the puns that then began to grow in fashion. He used to compare Seneca's stile, much admired by many, to *mortar without lime*, meaning it was loose and unconnected, the small parts of which, when put together, did not form a whole. But Afer's reputation hurt him, and to get rid of him, he laid hold of a pretence no one could possibly have expected.

Suet. Calig. 53.

Dio.

Afer had pretended to pay his court to him, by erecting a statue, in the inscription to which it was said, Caius had been twice consul at the age of twenty-seven. The wrong-headed prince would have it to be a reflection on him for his youth, and for having infringed the old laws relating to the age consuls were to be of; and on that foundation accused Afer before the senate, pronouncing a violent and studied invective against him. Afer was undone, had he

he attempted to answer or defend himself. On the contrary, he seemed struck with admiration at Caius's eloquence; and, as if he had been only a looker-on, and no ways concerned in it himself, took to pieces and examined the prince's speech, with an air of seeming pleasure and satisfaction, pointing out every beauty, and bestowing the highest praises on them. When called on to make his defence, he prostrated himself on the ground, saying, He had nothing to answer, but he owned himself convicted, and that he feared more Caius the orator, than Caius the prince. Caius's vanity was satisfied: he thought his eloquence had got the better of the greatest of orators: and as he always ran from one extreme to another, Afer, by this artifice, and the help of Callistus the emperor's free-man, whom he took care to gain, was not only absolved, but rewarded, and immediately promoted to the consulship. A.R.790. A. C. 39.

Callistus, who was a great favourite with his patron, ventured some time after to complain of his having exposed Afer to such peril. "What do you mean, said Caius, would you "have had me lose such a fine speech?"

To make Afer consul, he vacated that office in one of those sudden flights that were common to him. The consuls had affronted him, by not ordering festivals and rejoicings for his birth-day, thinking Caius would have been satisfied with the courses in the circus, and the fighting of beasts that the prætor had ordered. He did not however shew his dislike immediately, but waited the return of the yearly games for the battle of Actium. "I "shall certainly find an opportunity to quar- Caius deposes the consuls.

"rel

A.R. 790. A.C. 39. "rel with the consuls now, said he to his "confidents, for Augustus and Antony were "both of them my great-grandfathers: con- "sequently I shall have reason to be affronted, "either that rejoicings are ordered for An- "tony's defeat, or that they are not ordered "for Augustus's victory." The consuls appointed the games as usual, and Caius, on the strength of this fine reasoning, deposed them ignominiously, and ordered their fasces to be broke. One of them took it so much to heart that he died of grief. By this means it was Afer became consul.

His cruel and spiteful jealousy. *Suet. Cal.* 34, 35.

Since I have mentioned Caius's jealousy of the high reputation Afer's eloquence had gained him, I shall add here, that one of his great vices was to be excessively envious on all occasions, and towards all sorts of people. Though he despised Seneca, as I have said, yet he was very near putting him to death, for the success one of his pleadings in the senate had met with: nor did he relinquish that design, but because he was told there would soon be no occasion for violence, as the man he was going to condemn, must shortly die of a lingering disease he had been long afflicted with.

Suet.

He could not bear the reputation even of those whom death had screened from the effects of his envy. He had a great mind to destroy the works of Livy and Virgil: even Homer could not escape his virulence: he wanted much to suppress his poems, asking why he should have less power and liberty than Plato, who banished that poet from his republic.

Nor

Nor was he more favourable to civilians, than to poets and orators, and often boasted he would entirely abolish the study of the civil law, in which Rome excelled to a great degree. A project worthy a prince, whom himself overturning all laws, could not but hate a study, the object of which was to interpret those laws, and to make them revered and loved. A.R. 790. A.C. 39.

The statues of illustrious men, protected by Augustus, collected by that judicious prince, and placed by him in the Capus Martius, could not escape the malignity of Caius. He pulled them all down, and forbid any to be erected for the future without his permission.

He stripped the ancient families of their badges of distinction, which were in some sense their titles of nobility. The * Torquati were forbid to wear the gorget, the Cincinnati their hair curled in buckles, and the surname of *great* was taken from the Pompeys.

All shew and splendour, even in dress, hurt his distempered eyes, and made people odious to him. He sent for his cousin Ptolomy, son of Juba, king of Mauritania, and of Selæna, daughter to Antony and Cleopatra. Ptolomy, on his first arrival at Rome, was well received; but happening unfortunately to make his appearance *Sen. Calig. 26. & 35. Suet. de Tranquil. c. 11. Dio.*

* See in Rollin's Roman history, vol. III. book VIII. §. 1. the origin of the surname *Torquatus*, which the Manlii bore. That of Cinnatus belonged to the Quintii, and is famous in history for the illustrious dictator of that name, taken from the plough. Cincinnus signifies a lock of hair curled. Probably the first Quintius that was called Cincinnatus had hair that curled naturally. The name and thing continued in the family till Caligula's time.

A.R.790. A. C. 39. pearance at play in a robe of so bright a purple, that the eyes of every one were fixed on him; Caius was jealous of it, and first banished, afterwards put him to death.

In short, his grovelling envy knew no distinction: men of a middling, and even those of a low situation, were objects of it, if they possessed the least advantages of body, or of fortune, or any other remarkable qualification or thing. One Proculus, son of an old captain, was remarkably tall and well made. Caius perceiving him at a combat of gladiators, forced him to come down from his seat, and to engage two gladiators one after another; and seeing him come off victorious in both fights, ordered him to be loaded with chains, then let about the city for a shew, and after that had his throat cut.

Strabo l. v. The temple of Diana Aricina is famous for the singularity of the rites that were performed there. The priest of that temple, who had likewise the title of king, was to be a fugitive slave, that had killed the priest his predecessor. The pretended king spent his life in continual fear and anxiety, knowing his post was the reward of whoever should murder him; that being the case, we may readily judge their reigns were not long. He that had that wretched title in Caius's time, having enjoyed it a pretty many years, appeared too happy to the prince, who employed a stronger fellow to kill him.

Suet.

A gladiator, one of those that fought in cars with a slave that was both coachman and second, one day, in the midst of the games, set his slave, who had served him well, at liberty,

berty. The people, fond of every thing that was done at those games, clapped their hands and applauded mightily. That was enough to set Caius's frantic jealousy to work. He started up, ran down stairs in a hurry, and went away crying out, "What a shame it was, "for the first people in the universe to pay a "gladiator, for so frivolous a thing, a greater "honour than they did to the emperor, though "present." A. R. 790. A. C. 39.

From the same motives that he envied even the lowest of mankind, he took a malicious pleasure in treading on the necks of the greatest. He would suffer senators, who had gone through the highest dignities, to perform the functions * of slaves towards him; to run several miles in their togas at his chariot side; to stand whilst he dined or supped, with a napkin cross their arm, at the foot of the couch where he lay. We have seen with what indignity he deposed the two consuls, for no other reason than his own caprice. Instead of permitting the great men to kiss his mouth, as was customary, he would often hold out his hand, or even his foot, for them to kiss; sometimes out of a childish vanity to shew the fine stones his legs and feet were covered with. *Suet. Calig.* 26. *Dio.* *Sen. de Ira.* *nef.* 11, 18.

It must be owned too, in his favour, that the meanness of the senators contributed greatly to feed his arrogance. Their fawning adulation was more servilely low than can be expressed, as the reader must have observed by what I have already said; to which I may add, as a farther instance, the behaviour of L. Vitellius, The senators, and particularly L. Vitellius, mean flatterers.

* The Roman emperors were always served by their slaves, and not by the grandees of the empire, as our kings are.

A.R. 790. A. C. 39. tellius, the most notorious thorough-paced flatterer that ever was.

Dio. & Suet. Vit. That man, with great wit and parts, who had gained applause in his government of Syria, and had ended the Parthian war by a treaty honourable to the Romans, on his return to Rome, soon conceived his glory and reputation would bring him into danger; that he had served his prince too well not to be feared by him; and that envy and fear both combined against him in Caius's breast. He resolved to purchase his safety at the expence of his honour, and to save his life by becoming despicable. For which reason, when he appeared before Caius, he threw himself at his feet, cried, and was most humble: and knowing the prince's madness in wanting to be thought a god, worshipped him according to all the ceremonies of the Pagan cult. By this low and impious adulation, he appeased the savage tyrant, whom he dreaded, but heaped eternal ignominy on himself. Caius conceived a friendship for him, and Vitellius preserved that shameful and dangerous friendship by the same means he had acquired it. Caius, one of whose frantic imaginations was that the moon was his wife, asked him one day if he had not seen them in bed together. Vitellius, with down cast eyes, answered, "My lord, "you gods are visible only to gods: the fee- "ble sight of mortal man cannot reach you." We shall find him continuing the same practices under the next reign, by which, and his mean complaisance, not only to Claudius, but to Messalina, Agrippina, and even arrogant freemen, he succeeded so well, as to attain

tain a power and honours he ought to have blushed at, had there been the least sentiment of modesty, dignity, or virtue left in him. A.R. 790. A. C. 89.

Caius's flatterers ought to bear an equal share of blame for his mad pride, had he not carried it to such monstrous heights of cruelty as to sport with the lives of men, and to make his pleasures consist in the ills his fellow creatures suffered. To see poor wretches whipt to death or laid on the rack, were agreeable amusements to him: in that manner he treated, not only Apelles his favourite singer, the sweetness of whose voice he admired even in the cries and groans pain forced from him, but likewise Sex. Papinius, son to a man of consular dignity, Baliænus Bassus his quæstor, and other senators and knights, several of whose heads he afterwards caused to be struck off, as he was walking in his gardens by candle-light. He would often, whilst at table, when others were pleasing themselves with the music, order persons accused to be brought before him and put to the rack, or prisoners heads to be struck off by a soldier who had a knack of doing it dextrously. One day he wanted to see a senator torn to pieces alive: to that end he employed a parcel of wretches, who, as the senator that had been pointed out to them was going into the senate house, fell on him, calling him a public enemy, stabbed, and then delivered him over to others, who tore him limb from limb: nor would Caius be satisfied, till he had seen his entrails dragged about the streets, and then laid in a heap before his eyes.

Monstrous barbarity of Caius. *Suet. Calig.* 27, 33. *Dio.*

Sen. de ira. III. 16.

A.R. 790. A. D. 39. Savage sayings. *Sen. de ira* III. 19.

The bare recital of these barbarities strikes one with horror; I spare my readers the disagreeable mention of many others of the same nature, to be found in Suetonius and Seneca: but cannot omit some of Caius's sayings, which, without shocking the imagination by a representation of scenes of blood, make us as well acquainted with the atrocity of his character. Every ten days he settled the list of prisoners condemned to die: he called that *Suet.* *settling his accounts*. He would have such as were to be executed die slowly, and if I might be allowed such an expression, be larded with stabs; he used frequently to say, "Strike so "that he may feel himself die." One who had been prætor, having obtained the emperor's leave to go to the island of Anticyra to take helebore, and desiring several times leave to stay longer, Caius ordered him to be killed, saying, "Bleeding was necessary for a man "that found no benefit from so long a use of "helebore." After putting the children to death, he would often order the parents to be killed, to deliver them, said he, from their grief that must make life a burden to them. At a great feast, where both consuls were present, on a sudden he burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter. The consuls asked him, with the greatest respect, what might make him so merry? "I was thinking, said "he, how with a wink of my eye I could "have you both killed." His softest words to women he was fond of, when caressing him, were, "This fine head will be chopped "off whenever I please;" and wondering himself how he could love Cæsonia so much,

Sen. de ira III. 20. *Suet*

and

and for so long time, he would often say, "He A.R.790.
"would put her to the rack to know, from A. C. 39.
"her own mouth, what it was that made her
"so charming."

Not satisfied with murdering by retail such a prodigious number of persons of all ranks, he used to wish for one of those general calamities that carry off thousands at a time. The reign of Augustus, he said, was remarkable for Varus's defeat, Tiberius's by the fall of the amphitheatre of Fidenum; and complained that no such disaster had made his memorable. He needed not to fear a monster like him could ever be forgot. As far as was in his power he imitated those great calamities that did not naturally occur in his time. With that view he purposely brought on a famine, by shutting up the public granaries. Being offended *Dio.* at the mob for siding in the circus against the green * faction that he was for, and because in their acclamations they had styled him *young Augustus*, which he interpreted a reflection on his age, he ordered the soldiers to massacre a great number of them: then it was he uttered that expression, the most diabolical that ever man made use of: "Would to the gods the "Roman people had but one head, that I *Sen. Suet. Dio.* "might strike it off at one blow."

Other cruelties of Caius.

Nothing can be added to the idea these things must already give of Caius; and what actions of his I have farther to relate, though horrid in themselves, cannot make him appear blacker. Seneca tells us of the son of an il-

2 lustrious

* The racers in the circus were divided into factions, distinguished by different colours. There were four of them, the red, the white, the green, and the blue.

A.R.790. A. C. 39. lustrious Roman knight, named Pastor, who being put in prison for no other crime than his great neatness and elegance of dress, of which Caius was jealous, the father came to beg his son's pardon and release, but only hastened his death, for Caius's answer was to order him instantly for execution. That was not all: his inhumanity could not be satiated but by forcing the unhappy father to smother his grief, and sup with him that very evening. During the repast, Caius was continually addressing himself to him for healths, presenting him crowns and perfumes, and ordering all his looks to be strictly watched, and an exact account given him of them. Pastor had resolution enough under those melancholy circumstances to look and act with gaiety. He had another son remaining, for whom he feared the tyrant's cruelty.

Sen. de ira. l. 33.

Suet. Cal'g. 26.

It was usual with Caius to make the fathers be spectators of their sons executions. One of them begging to be excused because he was ill, the barbarous emperor sent a litter to fetch him.

Philo in Place. & Suet. Cal'g. 28.

Banishment was a favour from so cruel a prince; nor would he always let those he had passed that sentence on enjoy it. He thought it too great a happiness for them to live in liberty and plenty; criminals, according to him, not being entitled to so mild a fate. To that thought was added an odious suspicion, suggested to him by a man who had formerly been banished by Tiberius. Caius, having recalled him, asked him what he did in his exile: "My lord, answered the courtier, I never "ceased offering up my prayers to the gods "for

"for what I have since seen happen, Tibe- A.R. 790.
"rius's death, and your being emperor." A. C. 39.
Caius judged from thence, and not without reason, that those he had banished wished the same to him, and sent orders to kill them all, at least those he hated and feared most.

Among so many deaths, of which I have spoken in general, there must certainly have been several remarkable for the behaviour of those who suffered, and worthy to be recorded in history. But neglect or want of taste in what authors we have remaining, deprives us of many particularities without doubt curious and instructing. I shall borrow from Seneca the account of a rare instance of resolution in a man of distinction that Caius put to death.

Heroic resolution of Canus Julius. *Sen. de tranquil. an.* 14.

His name was Canus Julius: his mind had been cultivated and improved by the study of philosophy; I mean of moral philosophy, the only kind the Romans set any value on. After a long contestation with Caius, as he was going away, "Do not deceive yourself, said that "Phalaris, for so Seneca calls him, to him, "I have ordered you to be put to death." "I thank you, most gracious prince," answered Canus coolly. By a decree of the senate, of which I have spoken in Tiberius's reign, ten days were to be allowed between judgment pronounced and execution. During that time Canus did not betray the least symptom of fear or uneasiness, though he well knew Caius's menaces in such cases were infallible, and his doom irrevocable. When the centurion came to lead him to death, he found him playing at draughts with a friend. Here Canus's

A. R. 790. A. C. 39. nus's constancy seems to savour of ostentation. He reckoned his own men, and those of his adversary, "That he might not, said he, brag "without reason of having beat him." Then turning to the centurion, "I take you to wit- "ness, added he, that I have the advantage "of a man over him." Could he really be taken up with so childish a thought at such a time? what he said to his friends was more becoming a great and noble soul. Seeing them afflicted and shedding tears, he reproved them for it. "Why these lamentations? why these "tears? said he: you are all uneasy to know "whether the soul be immortal: I shall know "it in a moment." The philosopher under whom he studied went with him to the place of execution, and asked him what he was then thinking of: "I am thinking, answered he, "whether I shall feel my soul go out of my "body." And promised several of his friends to return and tell them, in case he should learn any thing concerning the state of souls after death. That was a firmness of mind undoubtedly heroical.

The transactions I have presented my readers with, do not all belong to the year of Caius's second consulship. The real time when some of them happened is not certain: and the methods Suetonius and Plutarch followed, in not adhering strictly to the order of time, but collecting together all events of the same kind, and uniting them as it were in one point of view, afforded them great opportunities of painting much more strongly. I shall resume my account of events, by speaking

ing of the bridge that Caius built from Baii * to Pouzzola. * A.R.790. A. C. 39.

Caius builds a bridge over the sea. *Suet. Calig.* 19. *Dio.*

He formed this project either out of downright madness, and an extravagant fondness of whatever was uncommon, difficult and very extraordinary, or out of a desire to imitate and surpass Xerxes, who threw a bridge over the Streights, now called the Dardanels; or else to strike the Germans with a terrible idea of his power by so surprising and stupendous a work; and likewise the inhabitants of Britain, against whom he was then meditating the ridiculous expedition, of which we shall have occasion to speak presently. Suetonius, who had it from his grandfather, who quoted people of Caius's court for his authorities, ascribes it to a motive still more singular. He says, that at the time when Tiberius was considering which of his two grandsons he should appoint to succeed him, inclining rather in favour of him who was his grandson by birth, Thrasyllus the astrologer told him, Caius would no more reign, than he would cross the gulph of Baii on horseback. It was therefore, according to this account, to verify the astrologer's prediction, that Caius undertook to build that bridge, which really was a most surprising thing, but of no use.

The passage from Baii to Pouzzola is about a league and a quarter. A double row of large vessels, collected from all the ports of Italy, or built on purpose as there were not enough ready, were fixed with anchors all the way from one shore to the other. Upon those vessels

* Dion Cassius, says Bauli, a country seat not far from Baii on the same coast.

A.R.790. A. C.39. sels was formed a causeway of earth and masonry, on the model of the Appian way, with parapets on each side, and public houses or inns, from space to space, into which fountains of fresh water were conveyed.

Suet. Cal. 52. When all was finished, Caius, putting on Alexander's armour, which he had brought away from that conqueror's tomb, and over that a military garb of silk enriched with gold, and quantities of precious stones, his sword by his side, and buckler in hand, with a civic crown on his head, sacrificed first to Neptune, then to some other deities, and in particular to Envy, whose malignant influence he dreaded, on account of the greatness of the exploit by which he was about to signalize himself. He then rode on to the bridge, and followed by numerous troops of horse and foot, armed as if for battle, rode as hard as his horse could go from Baii to Pouzzola, in the attitude of a combatant. There he passed the night, to repose himself after his great fatigues: and the next day, in the habit of a triumphant general, ascended a car drawn by horses, famous for the many races they had won in the circus. In that manner he returned over the bridge, his pretended spoils being borne before him, and preceded by Darius, son of Artabanes king of Parthia, then a hostage to the Romans, the whole court magnificently dressed, the soldiers on foot, in a word, the whole pomp and ceremony of a triumph followed his car. In the middle of the bridge was built a kind of stage, on which the triumpher mounted to harangue his troops, after an expedition the most glorious that ever was. There he praised

praised the soldiers, whom neither labour, fatigue, nor peril could overcome, and who had crossed the sea dry-footed. So great an atchievement well deserved to be rewarded, and accordingly he distributed money among them. A. R. 790. A. C. 39.

The whole ended with a general entertainment. Caius upon the bridge, the officers and soldiers in barks, sat down to table, and feasted the rest of the day, and all the night was as light as the finest day: for not only the bridge, but all the coast, which in that part forms a semi-circle, was so illuminated, that the sun's absence was not perceived; Caius piquing himself on changing night into day, as he had changed an arm of the sea into a road fit for foot passengers.

Towards the end of the feast, Caius, who had taken care to drink very plentifully, thought of a diversion worthy himself, throwing several of his courtiers over the bridge into the sea; sinking several of the barks full of soldiers and other people, by running ships armed with spurs foul of them. Several were drowned, and some who laid hold of the boats, were beat back into the sea. Most of them however saved themselves, the water being perfectly calm: in which Caius again found something to flatter his pride, as if Neptune had not dared presume to disturb his pleasures. *Suet. Calig.* 32. *Dio.*

The mad expences Caius run into for this bridge, having quite exhausted his finances, rapine and cruelty became again his resources. But neither Rome nor Italy, so long oppressed and harrassed by his avidity, could longer suffice; he resolved therefore to go and plunder the Gauls, under pretence of making war *Dio.*

against

A.R.790. A. C. 39. against the Germans. That he only talked of and pretended to make war, the reader will easily judge; and I shall give him some little account of it.

SECT. II.

Caius's ridiculous expedition against Germany and Britain. His rapine and cruelties in Gaul. Conspiracy of Getulicus and Lepidus discovered. They are put to death. Caius's sisters suspected of being concerned in the conspiracy, and punished. Caius sells his sister's jewels and furniture, and his own. His prodigalities. Games. Contention of eloquence at Lyons. Deputation from the senate. Anger of Caius. Caius sole consul. No magistrate dares to convene the senate. New years gifts. Honours done to the memory of Tiberius. Preparations for Caius's triumph. His wrath and threats against the senate. He renounces the triumph or defers it. His horrid designs prevented by death. Dangers to which the Jews are exposed by refusing to grant divine honours to Caius. 1. The violence and oppression they suffer in Alexandria. 2. The Jewish religion attacked in its very centre by Caius's orders to set up his statue in the temple of Jerusalem. Adventure of Androclus and his lion. Cherea forms a conspiracy against Caius. Caius is killed the fourth day of the Palatine games. Particularities relating to his person, his taste for arts, with other matters. INTERREGNUM. *Dreadful disturbances after Caius's death. Senators massacred by the Germans of his guard.*

guard. The senate wants to restore the old form of government. Cherea causes Caius's wife and daughter to be killed. The soldiers will have an emperor. They raise Claudius to the empire. The senate is forced to acknowledge him. Cherea is put to death. Demonstrations of public hatred to Caius after his death.

A. R. 790. A. C. 39. Caius's ridiculous expedition against Germany and Britain. *Suet. Calig.* 43—48. *Dio.*

WHERE a war is to be undertaken preparations are necessary. Caius made none at all for that he had projected. He was in one of the suburbs of Rome, taking the air, or according to Suetonius, was gone with a design to visit the source of the Clitumnus* in Umbria, when on a sudden he set out for Gaul, taking with him a parcel of dancers, gladiators, women, and race-horses, without giving any orders about raising troops, or providing ammunitions of any kind. All Italy and the provinces were quite in confusion by the precipitate march of legions, the levying of troops with the utmost dispatch and rigour, the preparing and sending away carriages and provisions of all sorts: and that nothing might be wanting to render this expedition a completely mad one from the very beginning, Caius would sometimes march at such a rate, that his guards, to keep up with him, were obliged, though contrary to custom, to quit their standards, and have horses purposely to carry them: and at other times would go so slowly and effeminately that he was carried in a litter on the shoulders of eight slaves, and ordered the

* See in Pliny the younger, l. VIII. letter 8. a description of that source and river, which still preserves its name Clitumno.

A. R. 790. A. C. 39. the people of the towns near which he passed to keep the road swept and watered against his arrival.

The reader may remember Augustus left eight legions on the Rhine. The moment Caius put himself at the head of them, he affected an excessive severity of discipline, the true motive of which was caprice, or sordid interest. He sent back with ignominy lieutenant-generals, for bringing up the troops under their command too late. Old captains were broke, only to deprive them of the gratification they would have been entitled to by serving their time out; and the reward of veteran soldiers was reduced to six thousand sesterces.

Though the reader will hardly expect to find Caius performing any great exploits; yet I doubt, whether he will not be surprised at the lowness and pitifulness of what I have to relate. The Germans did not dream of war, nor did Caius desire it in earnest. He proceeded however in acting his farce, ordering some Germans of his guard to cross the Rhine, and conceal themselves in a wood, and then word to be brought him, as in a great hurry and apprehension, that the enemy was approaching. On that he immediately marched forth, attended by his courtiers, and some of the prætorian cavalry, entered the wood, and made prisoners the very men he had ordered to hide themselves there. Proud of this great success, he erected trophies on the spot, and returned lighted by torches, blaming the cowardice of those that had not followed him. The companions of his victory were rewarded with

with crowns of a new invention, representing the sun, moon and stars. A.R. 790. A. C. 39.

He acted the same kind of farce over again soon after. He caused young lads to be taken from school as hostages, and letting them go again, as soon as he was told they had got a little way, up he started from table to run after them; they were easily overtaken, and brought back in chains: then sitting down to table again, he commended and encouraged those who had been partakers with him in these laborious and fatiguing expeditions. "Perse-" vere * with constancy, said he to them, re-" peating the words Virgil puts into Æneas's " mouth, and reserve yourselves for happier " times." He was mad enough too to send thundering letters to Rome against the senate and people, who, said he, were diverting themselves, and enjoying all the pleasures of table, the circus and theatres, whilst the emperor was fighting their battles, and exposing himself to the greatest dangers.

Such rhodomontades well became a coward like Caius: for nobody could dread more than him even the shadow of danger. Whilst on the other side the Rhine, as he was driving in his coach through a narrow way, where the troops that were with him were forced to close their ranks, somebody happened to say what disorder they should be in if the enemy were to attack them suddenly there. Caius, terrified at the thought, immediately got on horseback, and rode back to the bridges. Finding them impassable, on account of the baggage and *Suet. Calig. c. 1.*

* Perge et vosmet rebus servate secundis.

A.R.790. A. C. 39. and followers of the army they were crowded with, he made the men hand him from one to the other over their heads, and could not think himself safe till landed on the Roman territories.

Another time, either whilst he was near the Rhine, or after his return to Rome, a report being spread, that the Germans were arming and preparing to enter the Roman dominions, flight was Caius's only resource. He was preparing all things for it, thought of fitting out a fleet to transport him into the East, and comforted himself with hopes of preserving at least the provinces beyond sea, in case the Germans should cross the Alps as the Cimbrians had done before, or even, like the Senonese Gauls, sack the city. Such was Caius's courage and bravery: such his expedition against the Germans.

Suet. Calig. 43, 48. *Dio.* The next year he cast his eye on Britain, from whence a prince, called Adminius, had fled to him for shelter, to avoid the anger of his father Cinobellinus, king of one of the districts of that country. Caius looked on this as a conquest, and accordingly wrote to Rome in as pompous a stile, as if the whole island had submitted to his laws. The courier that carried the letter was ordered to arrive in the forum in a chaise, with great noise, and not to deliver his letter but to the consuls, in full senate assembled in the temple of Mars, where, by Augustus's institution, all affairs relating to war were to be transacted.

To put the finishing stroke to an enterprize so happily began, collecting all his forces to the number of two hundred, or, according to some

some, two hundred and fifty-thousand fighting men, he marched them to the sea side, drew his whole army up in battle array on the shore, and going himself on board a galley with three rows of oars, he sailed a little way out to sea, and returned. The trumpets then began to sound, the signal was given for battle, and this vast army was ordered——to pick up the shells that lay on the shore, the spoils of the ocean, as Caius called them; spoils worthy to be deposited in the capitol, and palace of the emperors. As a monument of his victory he ordered a tower to be built, for a land-mark for ships to steer their course by; and thinking himself obliged to reward the soldiers too he gave each of them an hundred denarii *: a liberality † that would now be thought great, but was then esteemed such a trifle (so great was the profusion of the Roman emperors towards their soldiers), that Suetonius laughs at Caius's saying to his army when he dismissed them, "They might go and enjoy themselves, "for now they were rich." A.R. 790. A. C. 39. * About 7*l*.

In the course of these two expeditions he made them proclaim him seven times *Imperator:* nothing was wanting but a triumph to complete his military glory. Just as he was ready to go to Rome to celebrate it, he formed a project, as void of sense as he was of humanity, to massacre all the German legions because five-and-twenty years before that they had revolted when they heard of Augustus's death, and had besieged his father Germanicus, and himself,

† Pronuntiatio militi donativo, centenis viritim denariis, quasi omne exemptum liberalitatis supergre sus, *festo*, inquit *lato, abile locupletes.* Suet. Cal. 46.

A.R.790. A.C. 39. himself, then a child. It was not without great difficulty he was persuaded to desist from that horrid design: but obstinately persisted in decimating them. To that end he ordered them to be drawn up unarmed, and made the horse surround them. But the soldiers suspecting his design, filed off by degrees, to fetch their arms and put themselves in a posture of defence. Caius was afraid, and ran away as hard as he could to Rome, to reek his anger and cruelty on the senate, destitute of arms to oppose him. But before we follow him there, it may be proper to mention what Dion Cassius says of his vexations and cruelties during his stay in Gaul, by which he made himself as formidable and dreadful to the citizens and subjects of the empire, as he was contemptible to strangers and enemies.

His rapine and cruelties in Gaul.

The Gauls were rich, and Caius had no other design in going there but to plunder them. Taxes were laid on provinces and private persons under the specious name of free-gifts. The slightest pretence sufficed him to condemn to death whoever was accused before him, and seizing on their estates and effects, as forfeited, he sold them by auction himself, in the same manner he had done at Rome, holding them up at exorbitant prices.

Conspiracy of Getulicus and Lepidus discovered. They are put to death. *Suet. Calig.* 24. *Dio. Suet. Claud.* 9.

A conspiracy that was carrying on at this times, that is to say, in the interval between his two expeditions on the Rhine and to the sea, gave him an opportunity to shed some of the most illustrious blood in Rome, and to enrich himself by new plunder. We know but little of this conspiracy: but tho' Dion Cassius seems to think it purely imaginary, it appears from some

some expressions of Suetonius and Tacitus, to have been real, and conducted by Lentulus Getulicus, who for ten years past had had the command of the legions in upper Germany, and M. Lepidus, Caius's companion, as we have before said, in his worst of debauches, but not the less ambitious of aspiring at the empire. A. R. 790. A. C. 39. *Tac.* XIV. *an.* 2. *Dio.*

Lepidus is, with some probability, conjectured to have been son to Julia, grand-daughter to Augustus, and consequently cousin-german to Caius, from whom he had received such favours as might make him ambitious. Caius had permitted him to solicit posts and employments five year before he had attained the proper age prescribed by law; and had even given him room to hope he would declare him his successor in the empire. But Lepidus undoubtedly depended little on the promises of a prince so excessively capricious, and apt in a moment to fly from one extreme to another. As to Getulicus we can suspect him of no other motive for entering into the conspiracy, but fear of falling a victim to Caius's doubts and suspicions, after having with difficulty escaped those of Tiberius.—Be that as it may, the plot was discovered, and cost the authors of it their lives. Caius sent three daggers to Rome, and hung them up in the temple of Mars the avenger, with an inscription, purporting they had been destined to assassinate him.

To this circumstance may be imputed the executions and massacres by which Dion Cassius accuses Caius of having considerably lessened the number of his soldiers. Getulicus was greatly beloved by the troops, whom he commanded

A. R. 790. A. C. 39. with extraordinary lenity, thinking he could not be safe but in their affection. Many officers and soldiers may be reasonably supposed to have entered into their general's plot, and to have perished with him.

Caius's sisters suspected of being concerned in the conspiracy, and punished. *Tac.* xiv. *an.* 2. *Dio.* *Suet. Calig.* 29. *Dio.*

Agrippina and Julia, Caius's sisters, were likewise suspected of having some knowledge of the conspiracy: and it seems very probable, especially Agrippina, whose lewd connections with Lepidus were, according to Tacitus, founded on ambition. What is certain is, that Caius thought them guilty, and treated them accordingly. He wrote to the senate in the most outrageous terms, published all the vileness of their conduct, and banished them to the isle of Pontus: he even threatened them with death, saying he had not only islands, but swords too in his power: but most incensed against Agrippina, he obliged her to carry in her arms the urn that held Lepidus's ashes, all the way from Gaul to Rome. He abolished all the honours that had been decreed his sisters, and forbid any new ones ever being granted to any of his relations.

Several persons of distinction in Rome were accused and condemned as guilty of being concerned either in the princesses intrigues, or those of the heads of the conspiracy. Prætors and ediles were forced to resign their offices, that they might afterwards be proceeded against by law. Of those who were concerned in this affair Dion Cassius names only Sofonius Tigellinus, then under sentence of banishment for adultery with Agrippina, and afterwards prætorian prafect under Nero.

Agrippina

Agrippina and Julia's possessions becoming forfeits, Caius sent their furniture, jewels, slaves, and all that belonged to them into Gaul, there to be sold by auction, himself presiding in person. A. R. 790. A. C. 39. Caius sells his sisters jewels and furniture, and his own. *Suet. Calig.* 39.

The profits he made by it were such as tempted him to sell in the same manner what we should call the crown jewels and furniture. He had them brought to him in Gaul in such a hurry, that even the public carriages, millers horses, and all that were met in the road, were taken up by his order; by which means there was a scarcity of bread in Rome, and several who had suits depending there lost them for want of convenience to convey them to appear on the day appointed. No fraud or trick of the lowest kind could be thought of that was not made use of by him at these sales, to enhance the price of what was put up. Those who did not chuse to give too much money, he called covetous, and seemed not to part with precious things, of which he was very fond, without great reluctance. The value of each article was enhanced by a recital of the illustrious names of those to whom it had belonged. "This, said he, was my father's; "and this comes from my grandfather. This "vase is true Egyptian; it was Antony's, and "is a monument of Augustus's victory." By such low arts, backed with the terror of sovereign power, he drew prodigious sums of money from the Gauls. *Suet. & Dio.*

But he was not a bit the richer for it: what he amassed by tyranny he dissipated with profusion. His army cost him an immense sum; besides which all his other prodigalities went His prodigalities. Games. Contention of chariots at

A.R.790. A. C. 39. on as usual, nothing could check them: and at Lyons he exhibited games the expence of which was enormous.

Suet. Calig. 20. It was at the time of those games that he instituted that celebrated contention of Greek and Latin eloquence, the laws of which were so rigid. By them the conquered was obliged to pay the sum that was to be the conqueror's reward, and likewise to compose a poem or discourse in his praise. And those whose productions were quite disapproved, were forced to efface them with a sponge or their tongues, unless they chose to undergo the ferula, or be thrown into the Rhone.

Deputation from the senate. Anger of Caius. *Dio.* Caius's pretended exploits against the Germans, and the conspiracy discovered, where events in which the senate would not avoid seeming to interest itself strongly. A decree the most flattering that could be thought of was drawn up, granting Caius, among other honours, that of the lesser triumph. A deputation composed of senators chosen according to custom by ballot, with this difference only, that it was judged proper to name Claudius in particular, as the prince's uncle for their head, was appointed to carry him the decree.

Never were deputies so ill received. Caius's caprices rendered him intractable; there was no knowing how to do to please him. If the honours decreed him did not amount to the idea he had of his own merit, he thought himself despised and ill used. If they were too great, he was again offended at that, as at an act of superiority in the senate over him. He thought it wrong for the senate to imagine it in their power to add to the glory and dignity

of

of their emperor: that was according to him, lessening his power without encreasing his honours. On the occasion I am speaking of, he was offended in particular at his uncles being sent, as if they had taken him for a child that wanted a tutor. He therefore ordered several of the deputies instantly back, even before they had set foot in Gaul, calling them spies. Those who were permitted to approach him, met nought but insults and affronts. He would certainly have killed Claudius, had he not held that weak uncle of his in so much contempt as he did: some said he actually throwed him into the river with his cloaths on. A. R. 790. A. C. 39. *Suet. Claud.* 9.

It was * without doubt in that angry fit that he forbid the senators, on pain of death, to deliberate or determine in any shape, what honours were due to him. The real motive of his displeasure seems to have been their decreeing him only the lesser triumph, when even the greatest fell, in his opinion, far short of his deserts. *Suet. Calig.* 48.

The year expired, and Caius performed at Lyons the ceremony of entering on his third consul-ship, in which he had no colleague: he that was designed to be consul with him dying towards the end of December, so that he could not be informed of it in time to name another. Caius sole consul. *Suet. Cal.* 17. *Dio.*

CAIUS

Dion Cassius, says the senate, sent Caius a second deputation, more numerous, and that it met with a better reception. I have not mentioned it, because I do not see how it can agree with Suetonius, nor with what ensued.

A.R.791. A. C. 40. CAIUS AUGUSTUS. III.

No magistrate dares to convene the senate. New years gifts. *Dio.*

EVERY Roman of distinction was so alarmed and terrified, that nobody dared to convene the senate for the first of January. Caius being sole consul and absent, the prætors were, strictly speaking, to act as consuls. The tribunes of the people were to convene the senate in right of their office; but neither prætor nor tribune would seem to personate the emperor: wherefore the senators, without being convened, repaired to the capitol, and after the usual sacrifices, paid homage to Caius's throne which was in the temple, and presented their new years gifts, as if the prince had been there in person.

Suet. Tib. 34. *Suet. Calig.* 42.

The custom of new years gifts was kept up by Augustus out of goodness and familiarity: Tiberius's pride made him disuse it, and Caius revived it out of interest. He required large presents, and especially from the time he declared himself father to Cæsonia's child. He then plainly told them he was poor; complaining of the heavy charges he had to sustain, both as emperor and father of a family: and under that pretence exacted immense sums by way of taxes, contributions and new years gifts.

Dio.

The senators having performed their ceremonies in the capitol, adjourned to their usual place of meeting, and there spent the whole day in mean acclamations of flattery towards Caius.

The third of January was the day, on which vows were offered up for the emperor's prosperity

rity. That was a duty on no account to be omitted: for which reason all the prætors in a body issued out a writ of convocation. The senate met, and renewed their vows according to custom. But they neither deliberated, nor made any decree concerning any thing: all affairs were suspended, till it was known that Caius had abdicated the consulship on the twelfth day of the month. The consuls who were to succeed him, then entered on their functions, and things were once more brought into order. A.R.791. A. C.41.

But even then the senate's decrees were only about trifles, and dictated by Caius, who signified his pleasure by letter to the consuls. I find nothing more worthy observation in what Dion Cassius says of those decrees, than the honours done the memory of Tiberius, whose birth-day was ordered to be celebrated in the same manner as Augustus's. Caius knew he could not mortify the senate to a greater degree, than by forcing them to commemorate the name of a prince they had so much reason to hate. Honours due to the memory of Tiberius.

It was in this year that Caius made his expedition against Britain, in the manner I have already said. He then thought he had attained the very pinnacle of glory, and was entirely taken up in preparing for his triumph. He wrote to his intendants, ordering them to get all things ready to make it the most magnificent that ever had been seen; but without spending much of his money: that they might easily do, as they had an absolute power over every man's estate. Himself undertook to collect the captives that were to adorn the Preparations for Caius's triumph. Suet. Cal. 47.

ceremony

A.R. 791. A. C. 40. ceremony. All he had in his power was a few deserters, and a very small number of prisoners, probably sent him by Galba, who, succeeding Getulicus, had checked some incursions of the Germans on the Roman side the Rhine. To increase the train, Caius added Gauls, chusing the finest and tallest men, not sparing even the first nobility if they suited his turn: he obliged them to dye their hair of a light colour, to let it grow long, to learn a few German words, and give themselves hard crabbed names, that they might pass for Germans. He likewise conveyed to Rome, a great part of the way by land carriage, the galleys, with three rows of oars, with which he had entered the ocean, nor did he forget the shells picked up on the sea shore.

Suet. Galba. 6.

Dio.

His wrath and threats against the senate.

Suet. Calig. 18, 19.

This triumph with which Caius delighted himself so highly, had not been decreed by the senate, who took particular care not to act contrary to the last orders they had received. Caius did not desire so punctual an obedience in that point. Ever inconsistent with himself, after having forbid the senate's decreeing him any honours, he now complained of their injustice in refusing him a triumph he had so well deserved: and left Rome, vowing to be revenged.

The moment it was known he had thoughts of returning, the senate, greatly alarmed, tried to divert the impending storm by sending deputies to assure him with what impatience his return was wished, and begging it might be speedy. "I will come, answered he, laying "his hand on his sword, yes, I will come, and "this with me." The declaration sent to Rome

Rome by his order to inform them he was returning, was in the same stile. He told them, A. C. 40. A.R. 793.
"That he was returning to those who wished "to see him, the order of knights, and the "people. But that as to the senate, he should "think himself neither citizen nor prince with "regard to them." What was he then? an enemy and a tyrant.

He renounces the triumph, or defers it.

After making such a rout about this triumph, after all the preparations and expences to render it magnificent, after being so outrageously angry with those that had not seemed forward enough to offer it him, he at once renounced, or at least deferred it, and made his entry into Rome the thirty-first of August, his birth-day, with only the modest pomp of ovation. But what proves he had not laid aside his bloody designs is, that he forbid any senator coming out to meet him.

His horrid designs prevented by death

We do not find however that he put the threats I have been speaking of in execution. Probably he was contriving some horrid scheme that required time and measures to be taken, but was prevented by his speedy death; for he did not live quite five months after his return to Rome. Suetonius affirms his design to have been to abandon the city entirely after massacring the chief senators and knights; and to remove, first to Antium, a place he was very fond of, and then to Alexandria, the inhabitants of which were entitled to his favour, for their readiness to bestow divine honours upon him. Two writings were found after his death, one entitled *The Dagger*, the other *The Sword*, with notes specifying those he intended to put to death. A great chest was found too full of

A.R.791. A. C. 40. of different sorts of poison. Claudius, who succeeded him, had it thrown into the sea. It is said quantities of fish were cast on the shore, poisoned by it.

It was likewise towards the end of his life that Caius's madness ran highest with regard to his godship. The Pagans, to whom every thing, but God, was a god, gave way pretty easily to the impious caprices of their prince. Not so the Jews, who by opposing those sacrilegious honours ran the greatest hazard, in which they might have perished, had not the murderers of the Son of God been unworthy to die in so fair a cause.

Dangers to which the Jews are exposed by refusing to grant divine honours to Caius.

1. The violence and oppression they suffer in Alexandria.

The first attack made upon them was in Alexandria, where they were the constant object of the other inhabitants detestation. The cause of that hatred could proceed only from the singularity of their rights and religious worship, which cut them off from other people in the midst of whom they lived. In Alexandria they had a chief or head of their own, named Alabarcus, and a public council to govern their nation; and though by that means they formed a distinct and separate body, yet they nevertheless enjoyed all the privileges of citizens, which had been granted them by Alexander the founder of the city, and in which they had been continued by the Ptolomys, kings of Egypt. Such prerogatives soon drew the envy of others upon them, nor was it lessened by their being so numerous a body. Of the five districts or quarters into which Alexandria was divided, they occupied almost entirely two, besides their habitations in the three others: and Philo assures us, there was not

Philo. in Flacc. & Leg. ad Caium.

Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 10.

Joseph de B. Jud. ii. 21.

Philo, ubi sup. a.

less

less than a million of Jews in Egypt. For these reasons the Alexandrians, an inconstant, uneasy, troublesome and seditious people, were always ready to fall upon that hated nation. All they wanted was a pretence, and liberty to do it. A. R. 791. A. C. 40.

Caius's madness in wanting to make himself a god, gave them a most favourable opportunity. They, of all the people in the world, Greeks or Barbarians, had shewn the greatest forwardness to lavish on him all honours and titles appertaining to the divinity: in which, as Philo judiciously observes, they did nothing very extraordinary. Accustomed to burn incense before Ibis's, crocodiles and cats, How could they have refused to worship their emperor? Caius, however, was highly pleased with them for it. Pride easily compounds with its flatterers, and is not apt to find fault with any thing that feeds and puffs it up.

The Alexandrians acted in this not less from malignity to the Jews, than flattery to Caius. They well knew, the Jews, who had been taught at another school, would never be induced to allow a mortal the honours reserved to God, the creator of all things; and concluded they should of course make them pass for enemies to the emperor, and consequently have them in their power.

The governor's authority was the only thing that could keep them within bounds. Unfortunately for the Jews they lost that safeguard. C. Avilius Flaccus, a man of sense and superior parts, and who had discharged all the duties of his post perfectly well whilst Tiberius lived

A. R. 791. A. C. 40. lived, had then been several years præfect of Egypt: but attaching himself to Tiberius Gemellus, he began to fear and be uneasy when he saw Caius promoted to the empire. His alarms increased when he learned Tiberius's bloody death: and the catastrophe of Macro, to whom he had always paid his court, quite disconcerted him. Destitute of support, he lent an ear to the Jews enemies, who insinuated, that he had no better resource left, than to strive to gain the love and affection of the Alexandrians, whose recommendations would be of great service to him with the emperor; and that the way to secure that was to give them up the Jews, to whom their hatred was irreconcileable.

The first step he took was to do them a very ill office, by suppressing an act or decree full of expressions of the greatest respect for Caius, and in which they had collected every honour that could be bestowed on man, without violating the laws of God. Their design was to send this decree to Rome by deputies, who were to present it to the emperor in their name. Flaccus forbid their doing it: for which reason they delivered him the decree. He read it, seemed satisfied, and promised to send it, but did not: by that means giving Caius room to think the Jews alone, of all the people in the empire, guilty of want of duty and respect towards him.

Flaccus expressed his ill will towards them in many other shapes, becoming difficult of access to them, refusing to do them justice on all occasions; and when any thing, whatever it might be, was brought against them before his

his tribunal, never failing to favour their ad- A.R.791. A. C. 40.
versaries. The Alexandrians understood that language extremely well, and soon conceived they might use the Jews as they pleased.

They kept within no bounds after Agrippa's arrival in their city. He was beloved by Caius, as we have said, and having received many favours at his hands, was going to make his new subjects acknowledge him their king, and took Alexandria in his way. The moment he appeared, the splendour of his fortune excited the envy, not only of the inhabitants, but of Flaccus too. His guards, whose armour was covered with gold and silver, his fine equipages, and all his train, seemed to eclipse the præfect himself, who, to be revenged, stirred up the people under-hand against him. On a sudden Agrippa was assailed with hissing, scoffings and all possible marks of spight and contempt.

There was a fellow in the city, called Carabas, an idiot, that used to run about the streets. The insolent mob took it into their heads to make a king of the Jews of him. They took him, and carrying him to the Gymnasium, a place where their assemblies were held, seated him in full view. A paper diadem was put upon his head, a mat over his shoulders, by way of royal mantle, and in his hand a reed they had picked up in the street. Young fellows with clubs on their shoulders were placed round him, as his guards. Some came to pay their respects to him, others presented petitions. The resemblance between this adventure and the insults the Jews themselves had offered but a few years before to Jesus Christ, is very striking. Usher and M. de Tillemont have

but

A.R.791. A. C. 40. both taken notice of it. Agrippa was then the darling of the Jews; and they had the vexation to see him slighted and insulted in the very same manner they had slighted and insulted their true King and Saviour.

That was but the beginning of the ills they were to suffer. The Alexandrians, encouraged by Flaccus's silence and tranquillity, which they very justly interpreted into an approbation of what they were doing, did not stop there, but cried out they would have Cesar's statues set up in the Jewish oratories. There were several of the * oratories at that time in the city, set apart for religious purposes, prayer, and reading of holy books. What the Alexandrians desired was done; or rather they did it themselves. They demolished or burnt several oratories, and profaned others, by setting up Caius's statues in them. That is all Philo says of it. But the Jews, who never were noted for too great patience and mildness, can hardly be supposed to have borne attempts so contrary to their laws, without resisting. Even Philo plainly supposes they put themselves in a posture of defence, when he says, the oratories that escaped the fury of the Alexandrians, were those that were surrounded and covered by the Jews houses. Philo's writings on this occasion have greatly the air of declamation, or rather of an apology, in which the cause of his countrymen is set in its fairest light, and particular care is taken to relate all that

* M. de Tillemont is of opinion, the synagogues were only the finest and largest of these oratories. *Ruine des Juifs art.* 13.

that could make for them, and suppress what- A.R.791. A. C. 40.
ever might be to their disadvantage.

It is therefore probable the Jews resisted, that seditions and frays arose, from which Flaccus unjustly and impartially took occasion to condemn those who had been guilty of no other crime than self-defence against their enemies. He published a decree, by which, without hearing the Jews, he declared them strangers in Alexandria. The city, as I have said, was divided into five quarters, two of which were not sufficient for the number of Jews, but they were obliged to spread in the others. Flaccus confined them all to a small part of one of those quarters, forbidding them to have any other place of abode. The consequences of so tyrannical an order may easily be imagined. The houses they were forced to leave were plundered: the people driven out of them, being too numerous to subsist in the narrow space that was allotted them, were most of them compelled to wander about the fields and sea shore, exposed to the colds of the night, and heats of the day; deprived of their houses, riches, and all methods of providing for the necessary calls of nature.

Still they would have been happy, had this been all they were to suffer. But personal ill usage, torments, and a cruel death, were the assured lot of whoever fell into their enemies hands. Philo gives a lamentable description of the cruelties of all kinds that were practised on them. Some were beat to death with sticks; fire, sword and the cross were employed against others: the Alexandrians took an inhuman pleasure in prolonging the lives that they might

A.R. 791. A. C. 40. might prolong the miseries of these unhappy wretches: the streets, market-places, and theatres swam in blood: no distinction was made of age or sex; none were spared. This account may possibly be exaggerated. Philo assigns no other cause for these barbarities, but the rage and fury of the Alexandrians, without taxing the Jews with any fault. In that he certainly cannot be credited. The reflection we before made, acquires here a new degree of evidence. The Jews can never be supposed tamely to have suffered themselves to be driven from their homes, beaten and killed, like a parcel of fearful lambs. Without doubt they opposed force to force, but being overpowered, felt all the rage and fury of an insolent victorious mob. Flaccus himself ordered eight-and-thirty Jew senators to be whipped unmercifully, for not having, said he, kept the people under them within due bounds.

He soon after received the reward of his iniquities. Philo does not tell us by what means he incurred Caius's displeasure. His strong attachment, first to Tiberius, next to that emperor's grandson, and lastly to Macro, were perhaps his crimes. However that may have been, Caius had him arrested in Alexandria itself, and from thence brought prisoner to Rome. His accusers were the very people who had advised him to persecute the Jews. He was condemned and banished to the isle of Andros, where Caius soon after had him killed, when he ordered the general massacre of almost all exiles, of which we have spoken.

The

The Jews of Alexandria began to breathe again from the moment Flaccus was recalled and arrested. Agrippa their king had already done them the service to send to Rome their decree that Flaccus had suppressed, telling what had caused the delay, which did not proceed from any neglect of theirs, but from the præfect's malice. After that they obtained leave to send deputies to the emperor, to plead before him their right of burgessy, and desire to have their oratories restored. Philo was at the head of this deputation. The Alexandrians on their side sent another, at the head of which was Apio the grammarian, known by Josephus's writings against him. But during the course of this affair, a new one happened that made the Jews cause infinitely worse, and attacked their religion in its very centre: endangering not only the Jews of Alexandria, but their whole nation wheresoever dispersed. A.R. 791. A. C. 40.

2. The Jewish religion attacked in its very centre, by Caius's order, to set up his own statue in the temple of Jerusalem. *Philo. Leg. ad Caium. Joseph. antiq.* xviii. 10. & *de B. Jud.* ii. 9.

The emperor's intendant in Judea at that time was Capito, a greedy covetous man, who from poor that he was when he entered on that employment, soon made himself rich by his extortions. Fearing to be accused by the people he had plundered, he resolved to prevent them, by taking advantage of their adherence to the worship of one only God, to render them odious. He engaged the idolaters, who, mixed with the Jews, then inhabited the town of Jamnia, to raise on a sudden an altar, roughly built, in honour of Caius. He expected the Jews, who were the most numerous in that town, would not suffer such a profanation of their country, which they looked upon as a holy land, entirely consecrated

A.R.791. A. C.40. to God. What he foresaw, happened. The Jews rose and pulled down the altar. Complaints being made, Capito wrote to Rome about it, exaggerating every circumstance, and representing them in such a light as he knew would be most displeasing to Caius, already too much indisposed against the Jewish people: for the aversion he had conceived against them from their known invincible resolution not to worship him as a god, was encreased and envenomed by two wretches, who had familiar access to him, and to whom he readily lent an ear, Helicon and Apelles, the one an Egyptian, the other an Ascalonite, and consequently both born sworn enemies to the Jews.

We have already spoken of Apelles, whose voice and manner of singing had gained him Caius's friendship. Helicon, an artful, subtle, intriguing slave, had raised himself by his cunning to the post of chamberlain to the emperor. These two men, well acquainted with the genius of the prince they served, used to divert him by their buffooneries; and letting slip no opportunity of ridiculing the Jews, seasoned their jokes with such malice and calumny as could not but take effect.

Caius, thus prepared long beforehand, soon came into the sentiments Capito wanted him to have, and thought rebuilding his altar at Jamnia no sufficient reparation for the insult that had been offered him; but resolved to have his statue of colossal size, adorned with all the attributes of Jupiter the Olympian, set up in the sanctuary of the temple of Jerusalem. Not depending on the docility of the Jews

Jews on this occasion. Petronius, who succeeded Vitellius in the government of Syria, was ordered to enter Judea with half the forces under his command, to compel them to obedience as a mutinous people. A.R. 791. A. C. 40.

Petronius was not one of those men, slaves to iniquity, who know no other law but their prince's passions and will. He was mild and reasonable, and being sensible how much his orders were wrong and unjust, could not set about executing them without extreme reluctance. Yet, fearing above all to irritate Caius, whose capricious temper would brook neither remonstrance nor delay, and with whom no fault was venial, he prepared to do as he was commanded. He marched to Ptolemais, on the frontiers of Judea, with two legions, and a great number of auxiliary troops, and immediately set people to work at Sidon to make Caius's statue.

As he foresaw the Jews would make an obstinate resistance, he chose first to speak with the heads of that nation, hoping to find them more tractable than the populace, and by their means to dispose the rest to be submissive. He acquainted them with the emperor's orders, and represented the necessity of obeying, and the forces just ready to enter their country. This attempt did not succeed. Far from yielding to what was proposed, the chiefs of the Jews returned no other answer than demonstrations of the utmost grief, shedding tears, tearing their hair, and lamenting their wretched old age, that made them spectators of such a scene of misery, the like of which their forefathers never saw.

The

A.R.791. A. C. 40. The news of what was intended soon reached Jerusalem, and was spread over all Judea. The effect it produced was such as would not be credited by any unacquainted with the character of that people, and their extreme attachment to their laws. Thousands of Jews, men, women, and children, forsook their homes, and deserted their towns and villages; and all, animated with the same zeal, went to meet Petronius, and endeavour to prevail on him to pity their wretched fate. They were so numerous that they covered the whole country like a cloud, and so sudden was this resolution, and so instantly put in execution, that the Roman governor had not time to collect his forces, but in a moment saw himself surrounded by an innumerable multitude, when he least expected it. They all fell prostrate before him, and on his ordering them to rise, stood up, their hands behind their backs, their heads covered with dust, and tears streaming down their eyes, when one of their elders addressed him thus:

"We are unarmed, as you see. Without cause are we accused of being rebellious. Even our hands we hold in such a posture as shews we yield up ourselves without resistance. We have brought our wives and children too, that you may save us all, or, if we must perish, that we may perish all together. Petronius, we are pacific from inclination; and our religion breathes only peace. When Caius became emperor, we were the first in Syria that gave him joy on his happy accession: our temple was the first in which sacrifices were offered up for his

" his prosperity. And shall it be the first A.R.791.
" whose religious rights are abolished? We A. C. 40.
" abandon our towns, our houses, and our pos-
" sessions: we are ready to lay at your feet
" all that we have; nor shall we think it too
" great a price to preserve the purity of our
" worship. Or, if we cannot obtain what we
" now beg, all that remains for us, is to die;
" to avoid seeing a misfortune we dread more
" than death. We are told troops of horse
" and foot are marching against us if we op-
" pose the consecration of the statue. Slaves
" cannot be mad enough to oppose their mas-
" ter's will. We offer our breasts to your
" swords: let us be killed; let us be sacrifi-
" ced; let us be cut to pieces. We will bear
" it without resistance; without opening our
" mouths to complain.

" We ask but one favour, Petronius, and
" that a very just one. We do not pretend
" you should refuse to obey the orders you
" have received. Grant us only a delay suf-
" ficient for us to send the emperor a deputa-
" tion with our most humble remonstrances.
" Our case is so good, our credit so great, we
" do not fear of moving him. When we shall
" have represented to him the holiness of our
" religion, our zeal for the traditions of our
" forefathers, and our just confidence in him
" that he will not use us worse than other na-
" tions, who are permitted to observe their
" own customs: in short, the example of
" Caius's own ancestors, who have maintained
" us in the possession of our privileges: some
" one of these motives will make an impres-
" sion on him, and induce him to alter his
mind.

A.C.791. A. R. 40. "mind. The wills of princes are not irrevocable, and those especially that are hastily "dictated by anger, are liable to as sudden "changes. We have been traduced and misrepresented: suffer us to defend ourselves; "it is very hard to be condemned without "being heard. If we obtain no favour, you "will still be at liberty to do whatever you "may think proper. But until we have presented our supplications to the emperor, do "not cut off the last hopes of a nation spread "over all parts of the habitable globe, and "whose motive in this is piety, not interest."

Petronius was moved at a speech so firm and yet so submissive. However, he thought proper before he came to any resolution, to see with his own eyes the state of affairs in their country, and be very sure whether the whole nation had the same way of thinking, in which case there would be a necessity of shedding a great deal of blood before Caius's orders could be executed. With this view he went to Tiberiades, a city founded by Herod Antipas, taking with him only the chief officers of his army. There he was again assailed by an infinite number of Jews, who repeated the same protestations, and offered up the same prayers with those of Ptolemais. "Would you then, "said he to them, war with Cæsar, without "considering either his power or your own "weakness? No, replied they, we will not "make war, but we will die rather than transgress our laws." Deeds proved their words true: the Jews, intent on one only object, neglected every thing else. This was in sowing-season;

season; yet nobody thought of bestowing the A. R. 791.
least culture on the earth; their fields were A. C. 40.
left fallow, and a famine threatened the land.

Petronius could not find in his heart to struggle any longer with a resolution he saw a very numerous people so unanimously and inalterable bent upon. Solicited too, by Aristobulus, brother to king Agrippa, and by several other persons of distinction, he ceased pressing the Jews to submit; but did not think it safe to carry his condescension farther. He promised nothing to the populace; would not consent to their sending deputies to the emperor, and in the letter he wrote himself on this occasion, took care not to lay any stress on the prayers and supplications of the Jewish people. The delay was imputed to the workmen who were to make the statue, who, intending it should be a master-piece, required time to bring it to perfection. He represented further, that the whole nation was drove to such despair, he was apprehensive the lands would be left uncultivated, and that if the emperor should travel to Alexandria, as was expected, and should be minded to visit Phœnicia, himself and his court might want the necessary provisions in a country where no harvest was like to be. Notwithstanding all these reasons, Caius flew into a violent passion at reading Petronius's letter, and immediately sent fresh orders, more peremptory than the rest.

At the same time king Agrippa being returned to Rome, ignorant of what was passing in Judea, came as usual to salute the emperor. He was struck with surprize and terror at reading

A.R.791. A. C. 40. ing Caius's looks, all the marks of anger and indignation, which he thought meant to him, the prince's eyes being continually fixed on him. He could not possibly guess the cause, nor did Caius leave him long in suspense. "Your fine countrymen, said he to him, who "of all the people in the universe refuse di- "vinity to Caius, are seeking death, and they "shall find it. I have ordered a statue of Ju- "piter to be erected in their temple; and they "have seditiously rose, and deserting the coun- "try, are coming all together here to present "a pretended petition: this is rebelling against "my commands."

He was going on, if Agrippa had been in a condition to hear him. But, as if struck with thunder, the king of the Jews dropped down in a fit, and was carried home senseless, and almost without life. Though ambitious, and given to shew and pleasure, yet he had a sincere respect and veneration for his religion. Love of his country touched him too: and when his senses returned, the first use he made of them was to write to Caius, and beg he would be merciful to that unhappy people.

Philo gives us Agrippa's letter at full length; or rather a letter he seems to have composed for him. As it is a very long one, I shall only extract what to me seems most remarkable.

To make Caius sensible the Jews deserve some regard, he sets forth the prodigious number and extent of that people, whose colonies reach throughout the whole empire, and to countries even beyond the Euphrates. From thence he draws an inference, greatly in favour

of

of his cause and quite flattering to the prince. A.R. 791.
"When I implore your clemency, says he, A.C. 41.
"for one only city, I implore it for every part
"of the universe. What deed more worthy
"your high fortune, than such a one, whose
"influence will know no bounds but those of
"the world itself. Europe, Asia, Africa,
"the isles and continents, shall all resound
"your glory; your name shall be celebrated
"by an universal concert of praise and thanks-
"givings."

Agrippa insists chiefly on what concerns the temple, in which he says, the invisible God, creator and father of all things, is worshipped in spirit, without being represented by the image of any thing sensible. This thought, too sublime for any ideas Caius was capable of forming of the divinity, is mentioned only by way of incident. Examples were a way of reasoning more adapted to Caius's genius, and the suppliant king sets before him those of Agrippa, Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia, who all honoured and protected the temple of Jerusalem. Augustus in particular, he says, founded there a daily holocaust to the Lord, consisting of a bull and two sheep, that still continued to be offered up.

He concludes with declaring his own thoughts; saying, that of the many and great favours he had received from the emperor, none could equal that he was then suing for. "To you, "says he, I owe my liberty, my life, my king-"dom: take them all from me, rather than "infringe our holy laws. If I cannot obtain "this favour, I must surely some how have "incurred your displeasure: if that be the

case,

A.R.791. A. C. 40. "case, take my life: for how can I value it "when deprived of your favour, which alone "renders it sweet and pleasing to me?"

Agrippa * ran a great risk in writing this letter. The success rewarded his zeal. Contrary to all expectations Caius was moved, and sent Petronius orders to make no innovations with regard to the temple of Jerusalem. He did justice, however, but by halves. "If there "be, added he, in any city but the capital, "people disposed to build altars to me or "mine, I order you to punish whoever op- "poses it, or to send them to me." That was taking back with one hand what he gave with the other, and inviting all the idolaters, intermixed with the Jews, to molest and disturb them by profaning their worship. He did more. He again resumed the project he seemed to have given up; only deferring to put it in execution till he should go himself to Alexandria: and not to be importuned by the complaints and clamours of the Jews, he resolved

* Josephus, who likewise ascribes to Agrippa the revocation of the orders concerning the statue, differs from Philo in some circumstances. According to him, Agrippa was informed of this affair before Caius had received any account from Petronius of the disturbances it occasioned in Judea. He gave the emperor so magnificent a treat, that, highly pleased with it, Caius bid him ask what he pleased, and it should be granted. Agrippa begged the orders sent to Petronius might not be put in execution, and Caius consented. But when he received the governor of Syria's letter, concerning the kind of revolt of the Jews, he thought his majesty hurt by their resistance, and the blame fell on Petronius. This account can hardly be reconciled with Philo's, which I have preferred, as he was contemporary with these transactions.

solved to surprise them, making people work privately in Rome at a statue, which he intended to convey on board ship with him, and at once go and set it up himself in the temple of Jerusalem. A.R.791. A. C. 40.

With his former design he likewise resumed all his indignation against Petronius, whose delays had made an affair he had so much at heart almost miscarry; and, according to Josephus, wrote to him in these terms: "Since "the gold of the Jews has prevailed in you "over the respect due to my orders, I make "you your own judge, and leave you to con- "sider what punishment you deserve; unless "you rather chuse I should myself make such "an example of you, as may be a standing "lesson to whoever shall be tempted hereafter "to neglect his emperor's commands." Luckily for Petronius, the ship that carried this thundering epistle, was three months at sea; and he had learned Caius's death, who was killed in the interval, seven-and-twenty days before he received it.

Nothing but his death could have delivered the Jews. Those of Alexandria, besides the dangers common to the whole nation, had, as we have seen, particular reasons to be greatly alarmed. Their deputies had an audience of Caius, just when his mind was in the greatest agitation about the statue. One may judge what sort of reception they met with. But what the reader will not so easily guess is, the extreme indecency of his behaviour to them. Nothing ever was less like an audience.

Caius was visiting two of his country seats situate pretty near each other, and not far from Rome,

A.R. 791 A. C. 40. Rome, when the deputies of the Alexandrian Jews came by his order to wait on him. They accosted him with all demonstrations of the most profound respect, bowing down to the very ground: "Oh are ye come, said he to "them, ye enemies to the gods, who alone re- "fuse to acknowledge me a god, whilst every "other nation of the earth adores and worships "me as such; but you reserve your worship "for a God whose very name you do not "know?" At the same time stretching out his arm towards heaven, he uttered such blasphemies as Philo dares not repeat.

Such a salute could not but confound the Jews, whilst their adversaries triumphed, thinking themselves secure of victory from that moment. To keep the prince in that favourable disposition of mind, they lavished on him all the titles of their several divinities; and one of them, a bolder calumniator than the rest, addressing himself to Caius, "My lord, "said he, you would think these men, and "all their nation still more deserving your "hatred, if you knew all their ill-will and "impiety towards you. Every people, every "private man, has offered up sacrifices for "your preservation: the Jews only have "omitted so sacred a duty." At these words, Philo and his companions cried out with one voice, "My lord, we are accused falsely: "thrice have we offered hecatombs for you: "first, on your accession to the empire; the "next on your recovery from that great fit "of sickness that alarmed the whole universe; "and the third, that you might return victo- "rious from Germany." "Be it so, answered "Caius

"Caius hastily, you sacrificed, but it was to A.R.791.
"another, not to me." The Jews shuddered A. C. 40.
at the horrid impiety of these words, and their looks spoke the agitation of their minds. Caius either did not perceive it, or took no notice of it. Whilst he was speaking to them, he ran from room to room, examined his house from top to bottom, pointed out what displeased him, and gave orders for new embellishments: the Jews still following him, hooted at, despised and loaded with insults by their enemies.

After running about some time, Caius stopt short to ask them very gravely, "For what "reason they abstained from swines flesh?" His question was applauded, as if he had said something vastly ingenious and witty: and the Alexandrians set up such a laugh, that one of the officers could not help reprimanding them for behaving so disrespectfully before the emperor. Philo answered, that different nations had their different usages; and that their adversaries themselves abstained from some animals. Somebody added, they did not eat lamb. "They "are in the right on it, answered Caius, it is "a very insipid meat."

At last he proceeded to question the Jews about their business. "What are your titles, "said he to them, in virtue of which you claim "a right of being citizens of Alexandria?" Philo began to set them forth, but had hardly entered upon the subject, when Caius left him, running into a great hall, round which he walked, and ordered a kind of transparent stones, the ancients made use of instead of glass, to be put in the windows. Then returning

A.R.791. A. C. 40. turning to the Jews with a countenance somewhat milder, "Well, said he, what do you "say?" Philo resumed the thread of his discourse, continuing to give his reasons. But in a moment Caius started up again, and went into another room, ordered it to be hung with original pictures.

The Jew deputies were quite at a loss what to do. Their defence thus continually broken in upon, and interrupted, could have no weight: their judge and absolute master was prejudiced and irritated against them; they expected nothing less than death; and in their hearts beseeched the only true God to deliver them from the wrath of him that usurped his name. "God, "says Philo, heard our prayers, and turned the "prince's heart to pity." "I think these peo- "ple, said Caius, less wicked than mad and "miserable, not to acknowledge my divi- "nity:" and with those words dismissed them.

I think one can hardly ascribe to this audience a very fine saying Josephus puts in Philo's mouth. But whether it was on this, or some other occasion, Apio, the Alexandrian deputy, and a bitter enemy to the Jews, having long railed against them, whilst Philo could not obtain being heard in his defence, the latter departed humbled, but not dejected: and perceiving the Jews about him quite concerned at the emperor's anger and prejudice against them, "Be comforted, said he to them, Caius, "by declaring himself against us, intreats "God for us.

Jos. antiq. lib. 4. The affair was at last left undetermined by Caius, and Claudius afterwards decided it in favour

favour of the Jews, whom he maintained, or re-established in the possession of all the privileges they had enjoyed in Alexandria, from the time of the foundation of that city. A.R. 791. A. C. 40.

The mention I have been obliged to make of Apio the Grammarian, induces me to insert here an adventure, of which he was an eye-witness, and was by him transmitted to posterity in a work since lost. If it appears foreign to my subject, or somewhat beneath the dignity of history, the reader will pardon me, in favour of its interesting singularity. Adventure of Androclus and his lion. *A. Gell.* v. 14.

At some shews that were given at Rome, where Apio was present, criminals were to fight wild beasts. One of the fiercest and most terrible of those animals was a lion of prodigious size, whose dreadful roaring, bristled main, and fiery eyes, struck every one with a mixture of terror and admiration. The lion coming up to the wretch destined to be his victim, on a sudden stopt short, and laying aside his natural fierceness, walked gently towards the man, wagging his tail like a dog that is fond of his master. When close to him, the lion fell to licking his hands and legs, in a loving manner. The man in his turn caressed the fierce animal, and by degrees recovering himself from the fright he was in, examined the lion attentively, and knowing him again, embraced him with transports of joy, which the animal returned in his way. Their joy seemed reciprocal, like that of friends, who happily and unexpectedly meet again after a long and grievous separation.

The whole assembly was extremely surprised and delighted at so wonderful an event. They applauded,

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A.R.791. A. C.40. applauded, clapt their hands, and the emperor himself, who was present, ordered the man, thus spared by the lion, to be brought before him, and gave him an account who he was, and by what charm he had disarmed the furious animal. "I am a slave, answered he, my "name is Androclus. When my master was "proconsul of Africa, being used by him "with great rigour and inhumanity, I fled; "but as the whole country was under his com- "mand, to avoid being found, I took to the "deserts of Libia, resolved, if I could not "subsist there, to seek a speedy death. In "the midst of the sands, and in the great heat "of the day, I espied a cave, into which I "went to shelter myself from the burning "rays of the sun. I had not been there long, "when I saw this same lion, whose mildness "to me gives you such surprise, come in, "groaning and complaining, so that I judged "he had been wounded. That cave was his "place of abode, as I afterwards found: I "hid myself in the darkest part of it, trem- "bling, and concluding my last hour was "come. He espied me, and came towards "me, not in a threatening manner, but as if "to implore my aid, and lifting up his foot "that was hurt to shew it me, a great thorn "stuck in it, which I pulled out, and grow- "ing bolder, by the patience with which I "saw he endured that operation, I squeezed "the flesh to force the corruption out, wiped "his wound, cleansed it in the best manner I "could, and put it in a healing way. The "lion growing easier, laid down to sleep, leav- "ing his foot in my hand: and from that day "I lived

" I lived three years with him in the same cave, A.R.791.
" and on the same food he used to eat. He A.C. 40.
" brought me regularly a joint of whatever
" he had killed. I used to hang it up in the
" sun, having no fire to dress it, and eat it:
" at length, tired with that savage kind of life,
" one day that the lion was out seeking his
" prey, I left the den; but had hardly tra-
" velled three days, when I was met by some
" soldiers, who knew and stopped me. From
" Africa I was brought to Rome, to be deli-
" vered up to my master: and being con-
" demned to death by him, expected here to
" meet my doom. I suppose this lion was
" taken soon after I left him, and knowing
" me again, has rewarded me for the service
" I did him in curing his foot,"

The story instantly ran from mouth to mouth, and the whole assembly begged, with loud cries, Androclus might have his life and liberty. It was granted; and the lion was made him a present of. Apio says, he had often seen Androclus leading his lion about the streets of Rome. The people used to give him money, and dress the lion out in garlands of flowers, saying to one another, "This * is the lion that " entertained the man; and this the man that " was the lion's physician."

It is not certain whether this event belongs more properly to Caius's reign, or to that of Tiberius or Claudius, under all of which Apio lived in Rome, and taught school there: but I did not see where I could insert it more conveniently; and cannot but own the gentleness of

Suidas in Ἄπιων.

* Hic est leo hospes hominis: hic est homo medicus leonis.

A.R.791. A. C. 40. of the lion, so contrary to the nature of that beast, inspired by a kind of gratitude, forms to me a kind of pleasing contrast with the inhumanity of a prince, more greedy after blood than lions or tygers.

He soon met the just reward of his crimes. A reign so fatal to mankind, was short as it deserved, not compleating the fourth year. Caius perished in the first month of that in which he was consul the fourth time.

A.R.792. A. C. 41. CAIUS AUGUSTUS IV. CN. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

Cherea forms a conspiracy against Caius. *Suet. Calig.* 56. 57. *Joseph. Antiq.* xix. 1. *Dio.*

More than one conspiracy had already been formed against him without success. I have related what little we know of that of Lepidus and Getulicus. Suetonius obliges us to suppose at least one more, of which we cannot tell any circumstances.

That which at last happily delivered the Roman empire from such a monster, was set on foot by Cassius Cherea, tribune of a prætorian cohort; a man of great courage, who whilst centurion in one of the German legions, when they revolted after Augustus's death, saved himself by his intrepidity from the fury of the seditious.

Others of greater rank and credit were concerned; such as Valerius Asiaticus, a man of consular dignity, and immensely rich; Annius Vinicianus *, who must have been one of

* Josephus calls him Minucianus. But it is plain this was Vinicianus, who was accused under Tiberius with his father Annius Pollio, and who afterwards conspired against Claudius with Camillus Scribonianus. *See Tac. Ann.* vi. 9. & *Dio. l.* lx.

of the chief heads of the senate, since after Caius's death he was one of those intended as candidates for the empire. Clemens the prætorian præfect, and Callistus, Caius's freeman, so famous for his immense riches, and the vast power he had under Claudius, are said likewise to have been of the number. But those great men were only aiding in the conspiracy; or even contented themselves with wishing it well. Cherea was the soul of it. He formed the design, chose his associates, and saw it executed; in a word, he was the man that set the example by striking the first blow. A.R. 792. A. C. 41.

Besides the general reasons that rendered Caius odious to every person of distinction in the empire, each of those I have named had particular motives of fear or revenge. Valerius Asiaticus was incensed against Caius for having debauched his wife, and afterwards rallied him about it most indecently before a large company. Vinicianus and Lepidus had been intimates: grief for the death of his friend, and fear himself might not be safe, were his inducements. The prætorian præfects, and most powerful of the freemen (for so Suetonius expresses himself, giving us consequently to understand Clemen's colleague, and other freemen besides Callistus were concerned) were in continual fear of their lives ever since a certain conspiracy, in which having been named as accomplices, though wrongfully, they were sensible the prince still retained a degree of mistrust and hatred against them. For at that time he had taken them a-part, and drawing his sword, told them, if they were of the number of those that wished his death, he *Sen. de Constant. sap. c. 18.*

A.R. 792. A. C. 41. would kill himself with his own hand: nor did he cease to endeavour to set them mutually at variance by telling them stories of each other. Callistus's great riches, which might awaken the avarice of Caius, were to him a particular cause for fear.

As to Cherea, his aversion to tyranny, and the republican spirit that breathed in him, might be inducements strong enough to make him form a design which all the maxims of Paganism represented as infinitely glorious. But besides that, Caius seemed to make it his study to sour that high mind, loading him with all kinds of insults and affronts. No one who had heard Cherea speak would have taken him for what he was. The bravest of men had a soft languishing effeminate voice. Caius for that would call him a coward, and treat him with contempt. Whenever Cherea came, as the duty of his post required, to take the word, Caius purposely chose some one that implied effeminacy or infamy. The brave tribune suffered greatly when he took it, and still more when he was to give it out: for the other officers did not fail to laugh at him, and would often divert themselves by guessing before-hand what word Caius would give him. I have already observed Caius was fond of employing the officers of his guards to collect taxes. Cherea being charged with one of those commissions, acquitted himself of it like a generous spirited man, compassionating the distress of the people, giving them time, and avoiding whatever might oppress and torment them. In consequence of these lenities, the money not being raised so soon as Caius would have

See abi supra.

have had it, he again took that opportunity to accuse Cherea of cowardice. A.R.792. A. C. 41.

These personal motives joined to public ones in Cherea's breast, made him resolutely determine to kill the tyrant. How to do it was all that puzzled him, his scheme seems to have extended even beyond Caius's death, and his design to have been to restore the old republican form of government.

Whilst he was sounding those he judged most proper to be let into the plot, and the number of conspirators began to encrease, an accident happened that whetted his courage still more. Pompædius, an illustrious senator, having been accused of talking disrespectfully of the emperor, the accuser brought as witness one Quintilia, a player, who led the kind of life those of her profession usually do, and between whom and the accused there had been a vicious intercourse for some time. Quintilia had sentiments and courage beyond what might have been expected from a woman of her profession and way of life. She denied the fact, which in reality was false, and Caius having ordered her, at the accuser's request, to be put to the rack, she resolved to bear it, rather than be the cause of an innocent person's death. What is very extraordinary is, that she was acquainted with the conspiracy then carrying on, and that Cherea was the man Caius pitched upon to see her laid on the rack, thinking that tribune would be more cruel than another, to wipe off the imputation of cowardice from himself. Josephus who relates these circumstances, does not say whether Cherea and Quintilia knew each other. However that may

A.R. 792. A. C. 41. may be, this courageous woman, as they were leading her to the torture, trod on the foot of the conspirators whom she met, as much as to say, they might depend on her keeping the secret: and in fact she bore, without revealing any thing, so cruel a torture that all her joints were dislocated. In that condition she was carried before the emperor; nor could the savage prince himself forbear being moved with compassion, but * ordered her a sum of money to make her some amends. Cherea was distracted to be forced to be any ways instrumental in using a person so cruelly as to excite even Caius's pity.

In the rage he then was, he ran to Clemens the prætorian præfect. "You are our chief, said "he to him, and under your orders we watch "over the safety of the prince's person. It is "a noble function, and we do it like men of "honour. But must we be employed to shed "innocent blood, and torment our fellow ci-"tizens?" The colour flew up in Clemens's face, and his answer was, that prudence and a regard to their own safety, obliged them to obey the prince, and even be subservient to his fury.

Cherea thought he might venture to open himself to a man that talked in this manner: and setting before him all the ills Rome and the empire suffered, "after all, added he, Caius "is not so much to blame as you and I, who, "when it is in our power, with one blow to "put an end to all this injustice and tyranny, "rather

* This affair is much like that Suetonius mentions, c. 16. without saying the particulars, and which I have inserted after him, among Caligula's laudable actions.

" rather than do it, make ourselves the in- A.R.792.
" struments of it. We bear arms, not to A.C. 41.
" defend our liberties and serve the state, but
" to execute Caius's bloody commands. From
" warriors we suffer ourselves to be transform-
" ed into executioners, and reek his cruelties
" on our fellow citizens, till others shall do the
" same to us."

Clemens seemed greatly to admire Cherea's courage: but owned the danger terrified him; adding, that his age, pretty far advanced, made him unfit for so bold an undertaking, and that he chose rather to trust to time, and what favourable circumstances might happen.

Cherea, but ill satisfied with so prudent a zeal, applied next to Cornelius Sabinus, tribune, like himself, of a prætorian cohort: and finding him disposed to enter into his views, went with him to Vinicianus, who praised and encouraged them highly, and as may be judged by the sequel, promised to back them.

The name of a man of that distinction was probably of service to Cherea, to bring others into the conspiracy. It was already numerous enough, and consisted of senators, Roman knights, and officers of the army. Cherea called them together, to consult how and when they should put it in execution.

Caius is killed the fourth day of the Palatine games.

Every opportunity was alike to him. He proposed attacking Caius in the capitol, whilst he should be offering up sacrifices for his daughter; in his palace, in the midst of the occult mysteries he used to celebrate there with a superstitious attention; or else he was for casting Caius headlong down from the top of the Julian Basilic, as he should be throwing money

A.R.792. A.C. 41. ney from thence to the mob. The others were for proceeding with more circumspection in an affair of such importance. Their advice was to try to surprize Caius, when he should have but few attendants, that there might be the less danger of miscarrying, which, were it to happen, would plunge the republic into greater ills, than those they wanted to deliver it from. After discussing it some time, they fixed on the Palatine games, instituted by Livia in honour of Augustus, and which were to last four days. Whilst a great crowd should be collected in a small place, they hoped to find an opportunity of falling on Caius, so that his guards should not be able to defend him.

The three first days, either no opportunity offered, or the conspirators missed it, Cherea was drove to despair. He feared those delays might blow the secret. He feared too he might lose the glory of killing Caius. "He is go-"ing, said he, to Alexandria; somebody will "certainly kill him there. What a shame to "us, should he not die by our hands!" With this warmth did he encourage and animate them all, and it was positively resolved to attack Caius the next day, the last of the feasts, and the twenty-fourth of January.

The games were celebrated near the palace, or in the palace itself; and as the space was but small, the crowd and confusion were very great: the seats were not distinguished; senators, knights, and the common people, all sat where they could, without order or regularity.

When Caius came in, he first offered up a sacrifice to Augustus, and then took his seat. He

He was observed that day to be more gay and affable than usual, so that every one was surprised at his gracious behaviour. He diverted himself heartily to see the people scramble for the victuals and uncommon fowls that were thrown them by his order. Little did he dream of the danger that was so near him. A.R.792. A. C. 41.

The plot however began to transpire, and had not Caius taken care to make himself so much detested, he might have been warned. Varinius, a senator, and ancient prætor, sitting next to Cluvius, a man of consular rank, asked him what news? Cluvius answering, he had not heard any: "I will tell you some then, said "Varinius: to-night is to be represented a "play, called the Death of the Tyrant." Cluvius understood his meaning, and begged he would keep such a secret more carefully.

As the diversions began in the morning, it was expected Caius would go out to dine, as he had done the day before. Cherea had taken his measures accordingly, placing his friends in the passage, and assigning every man his post. It was the seventh hour of the day, or one o'clock, and Caius did not stir. Finding his stomach overloaded with the supper he had eat the night before, he was considering whether he should not stay there all day to see the plays and other diversions, of which he was excessively fond. His stay made the conspirators, and all who knew of the plot, extremely uneasy. Vinicianus, who sat next the emperor, fearing Cherea would grow impatient, was getting up to go and speak to him, but Caius held him by the robe. Vinicianus sat down again, but was too uneasy to keep his seat long: he

A.R.792. he rose a second time, and Caius let him go.
A. C. 41. Cherea indeed wanted some good counsellor to keep him within bounds. Such was the heat and impetuosity of his temper, he was thinking of running to attack Caius in the midst of the assembly, which might have occasioned a most dreadful massacre. At that instant Asprænas, who was likewise in the secret, persuaded Caius to go and bathe, and then eat something light, after which he would return to his diversions with better spirits, and be more easy. Caius rose, and room was made for the emperor to pass. The conspirators were very careful to keep the crowd off, and seemed mighty busy in clearing the way for him, but their design was to get him alone in the midst of them.

Before the emperor marched his uncle Claudius, his brother-in-law Vinicius, married to Julia, and Valerus Asiaticus: Paulus Arruntius followed behind. Caius left them, and turned to enter into a little vaulted gallery that led to the bath, and where he found some young children of distinction come from Ionia in Greece, to perform before him hymns and dances in his praise. He was very near returning that moment to the threatre, so impatient was he to enjoy that pleasure, and would have done it, had not the chief of that young band said he was quite perished with cold.

At that instant Cherea struck him. The circumstances are not agreed on. What is certain is, that Cherea gave him the first stab, and that with such violence, that it beat Caius to the ground. Whilst he was struggling, calling out he was not dead, Cornelius Sabinus, and

and the other conspirators surrounded him, A.R.792.
and encouraging each other with the signal they A. C. 41.
had agreed on, *Strike again*, they gave him thirty stabs, and left him dead on the spot. Dion Cassius says, several more stabs were given him after his death, which is likely enough, if we consider the fury of the conspirators. He adds, that some of them eat of his flesh. Such barbarity would but ill become the avengers of Caius's cruelties.

Thus perished this unhappy prince in the twent-yninth year of his age, after reigning three years, ten months, and eight days. He met the fate he deserved for his furies towards God and man. He then found, says the historian Dion Cassius, he was not a god, but a poor weak mortal; and after having wished the Roman people had but one head, he found they had many arms.

It was time for Rome he should die; for *Ser. de Brev. vit. c. 18.*
when he was killed the public granaries were empty, and the city had corn left but for seven or eight days.

I shall decline troubling my readers here with an account of all the presages and omens Suetonius and Dion Cassius have collected with great care, as portending Caius a violent death. The true omen that ought to have made him look upon it as infallible, was the horror of his own actions, and the hatred every one had conceived against him on account of his crimes. But I cannot omit some particularities that could not so well find room in the course of my narration, concerning his person, his tastes, and fondness of arts and bodily exercises; in which

A.R.792. A. C. 41. which some indications of his character may be observed.

Particularities relating to his person, his taste for arts, and other things. *Suet. Calig.* 50, 55.

He was tall, but ill made, pale, his eyes hollow, his forehead broad, on which pride and haughtiness were characterised: he had but little hair, and none at all on the fore part of his head. He did not at all like being bald, and it was a crime to look down upon him as he passed, because that deformity was then most seen. For the same reason it was death for any one to talk of a goat in his presence, because that creature is hairy all over. His look was naturally wild and ghastly, and he studied to make it yet more striking, setting his features before a looking-glass, in the manner he thought most fit to inspire dread and terror.

I have spoken of his dress when there was an opportunity to mention it. All I shall add here is, that he followed no rule in it but his own caprice; and according as the whim took him, would put on the habits of different countries, of women, or of the gods; but always fine and tawdry, covered with gold and precious stones. He most usually wore the triumphal dress, even before his expedition.

Great care had been taken in his education to give him a relish for the polite arts and sciences, a thing carefully observed in all the princes of the family of the Cæsars. Caius indeed had not that taste for learned researches, in which Tiberius took so much delight; but as I have already said, he applied himself closely to the study of eloquence. He was constantly exercising himself in it, not only when he judged

judged he should want it, but for his pleasure too. A pleading that had met with more than common applause and success, would excite his emulation, and he would try to answer it: or if any person of great importance had a cause to come on before the senate, he would compose a speech either for or against him, and would condemn or acquit him, as he was pleased or dissatisfied with his own performance. His delivery was not absolutely strong and animated, but impetuous: he could not keep in the same place: his voice was like thunder, and might be heard at a great distance. A. R. 792. A. C. 41.

He likewise studied arts less becoming his high station, and made a greater progress in them than suited an emperor. He could fight like a gladiator, dance and sing. He was so fond of music and dancing, that, even in public, he could not help accompanying the musician with his voice, and approved or corrected the actors action by his own. He took it into his head once to send in the middle of the night for three persons of consular dignity, ordering them to come directly to his palace, which they did, not a little affrighted. He seated them on a couch, and danced before them, a flute, and other instruments playing, and then disappeared. He did not indeed dance publicly on the stage, as Nero afterwards did; but it was thought he intended it the day he was killed: and that it was with that view he had ordered the diversions to be continued all night. Suetonius observes, that with this universal disposition for all sorts of exercises, Caius could not swim. His cowardice perhaps prevented it:

A.R.792. A.C. 41. it: fear of the water might make him want presence of mind.

What he loved, he loved to a violent degree. He was often seen to kiss the pantomime Mnester before a numerous audience; and if, when that player was acting, it chanced to thunder, so that he could not hear him, Caius would rage and storm against heaven and Jupiter: and if any body made the least noise, the emperor immediately sent for the delinquent, and whipped him with his own hand. A Roman knight, who happened to offend in that manner, was indeed not treated with quite so much ignominy, but Caius sent him orders by a centurion to go directly to Ostium, and deliver his dispatches to king Ptolomy, which, when opened, contained only these words; "Do the bearer neither good "nor harm." Gladiators that pleased him were made captains of his guards. He would often eat and sleep in the stables belonging to the green faction of the circus, which was his favourite one. He gave a coachman two millions of sesterces for a basket of fruit at a desert. I have spoken elsewhere of his madness about his horse. Rome was delivered from this frantic prince, only to fall under the yoke of an idiot, as I shall relate, first begging the reader's leave to offer him the reflection of a modern writer, whose thoughts are deep, and his expression strong.

Sen. de ira l. 16. Suet.

Conclusion on the causes of the grandeur the Romans and

"Here, says that author, let us take a view "of the state of human affairs. Let us observe in the history of Rome, how many "wars undertaken, how much blood shed,

how

" how many nations and people destroyed, A.R.792. A.C. 41. their decline, c. 15.
" what great actions, what triumphs, what
" policy, wisdom, prudence, constancy, and
" courage: a design to invade all, so well
" combined, so well carried on, and so well
" executed; to what end, but to glut and sa-
" tiate five or six monsters? What! did that
" senate then extirpate so many kings, only to
" become at last the lowest slaves to some of
" their own basest and most unworthy citi-
" zens, and to annihilate itself by its own de-
" crees! too plain it is, that men rise but to
" have the greater fall! they strive to increase
" their own power, only to see it wrested from
" them, and turned against them by others
" more fortunate."

Such is the weakness and misery of human nature. Of so little importance are the objects of our admiration in the eye of God. But to return to my subject.

INTERREGNUM.

No prince, however bad, can be so far forsaken, as to have no body at all to interest themselves for him: and Caius, well knowing how much he deserved to be hated by the senators, the great men, and all that might be called people of any character in the state, had taken care at least to attach the soldiers and common people to him: the soldiers he had gained by his liberalities, and allowing them a share of his bloody rapines: the people, by shews and diversions, and by giving them corn, meat, and food of all kinds. The slaves too, whose informations against their masters he was

Dreadful disturbances after Caius's death. Senators massacred by the German guard of his guard. *Suet. Calig.* 50, 60. & *Claud.* 10 *Joseph. Ant. Jud.* xix. 1 3. & *de B. Jud.* ii. 10. *Dio.* c. lix & lx

U.R.792. A.C. 41. was always ready to hear and encourage, and who were often freed from servitude, and grew rich by that means, were fond of Caius. Partizans and supporters worthy a tyrant! the conspirators therefore rightly judged it might be dangerous for them to shew themselves the moment they had killed Caius, but taking private and dark ways, they got out of the palace, and hid themselves.

Their precaution was very proper. The Germans of the guard, hearing they were killing the emperor, immediately ran to his assistance sword in hand, but coming too late to save him, hunted for the murderers. All the senators who had the misfortune to fall in their way, acquainted or not acquainted with the conspiracy, became victims to their fury. Asprenas, the first they met, was cut to pieces. Norbanus strove to defend himself, but had the same fate. Anteius fell into the soldiers hands, not by chance, but going out of curiosity and a desire of revenge, to see him dead that had banished and killed his father, it cost him his own life: he attempted in vain to hide himself when he saw the danger; the Germans massacred him.

In the mean time the people in the theatre were in the utmost confusion. It was some time before Caius's fate was known to them. Some said he was dead, as he really was: others gave out he was only wounded, and that surgeons were then sounding and dressing his wounds: others again said he had escaped all bloody from his murderers, and was got to the tribunal for harangues, where he was requesting the people to do him justice: whilst others

others again, still less credulous, suspected the whole to be a false alarm, purposely spread by Caius to sound how the people stood affected towards him. In this dilemma no one dared go out for fear of the Germans, part of whom remained behind to guard the doors of the theatre, and not knowing yet exactly what had passed, threatened the greatest violences. A.R.792. A. C. 41.

An event of this nature could not long be a matter of doubt: it was soon cleared up: and the fury of the Germans, when there was no one to reward them for it, quickly subsided: the doors were set open, and every one went about his business.

Vinicianus did not escape without difficulty. The public had probably got some notion of his being concerned in the plot. Clemens the prætorian præfect, who, in his heart was of his way of thinking, took him under his protection: and speaking his mind pretty freely, plainly told the soldiers of the prætorian cohorts, Caius was the cause of his own death; and that the conspirators were less to be blamed for it, than the prince himself, whose conduct had been such as had long prepared the snare into which he was at last fallen.

Valerius Asiaticus spoke to the people still more boldly: for when the mob was all gathered together, and with loud cries were calling out to know who it was that had killed Caius, Asiaticus, raising his voice, "Would "to the gods, said he, it were me" This expression uttered with a resolute tone, by a man of his high distinction, calmed the uproar: the truth is, the people had long been used to implicit obedience.

A.R.792. A. C. 41. Caius being dead, and no one fixed upon to succeed him, the senate thought it a proper time to resume their ancient privileges. Cn. Sentius Saturnius, and Q. Pomponius Secundus were then consuls; for Caius had kept the consulship but twelve days, and Pomponius succeeded him in it. Pomponius had dishonoured himself by his meannesses, and by servilely bending his neck to the yoke of tyranny. Dion Cassius says, that at a supper a little before Caius's death, he being placed near the emperor's feet, would often stretch himself out to kiss them. Sentius had a noble elevated mind, and came warmly into the scheme of restoring the republican liberty.

The senate wants to restore the old form of government.

As soon as matters were a little quiet, the consuls posted up a declaration, by which, after representing in the strongest and most odious light, Caius's person and government, they promised a speedy redress of all grievances, and to the soldiers, ample rewards; ordering them all to remain quiet and peaceable, and wait the senate's decision. At the same time the senate was convened to meet, not at the Julian palace, for that they looked upon as a monument of their slavery, but in the capitol.

Sentius opened the meeting with a harangue full of great and noble sentiments, congratulating the company on the liberty restored the republic, exclaiming against the tyranny they had so long endured, and extolling Cherea's action to the skies. Such language was highly pleasing to the senators who would have reaped the chief advantages of restoring the old form of government. Liberty was all their wish,

and

and some were already for abolishing all honours decreed the Cæsars, and even the memory of them. A.R.792. A. C. 41.

This was more easily proposed than executed. Without doubt the senators were sensible of the difficulty, and we may suppose thought of taking proper measures to secure that liberty so much desired, but the possession of which was as yet uncertain, and might vanish in a moment like a dream. It would be in vain to look for any particulars on this occasion in Josephus, though that historian has spoke very fully of Caius's death, and the consequences of it. We must be satisfied with what he has thought proper to give us, and only say, that the senate continuing assembled till late in the night, Cherea came to receive the word from the consuls, a thing that had not been seen in the memory of man. The word they gave was *Liberty*, and he carried it to the soldiers of the four cohorts that were in the city, who acknowledged the senate's authority.

Cherea causes Caius's wife and daughter to be killed.

Cherea was the soul of all: it was he too that ordered Cæsonia and her daughter to be killed. He would have no remains of the tyrant's family, and thought his work but half done whilst Caius's wife and daughter lived. Several of the conspirators did not think like him; to murder a woman and a child seemed to them a low and cowardly deed, nor did they think it just to make Cæsonia bear the penalty of Caius's crimes. But Cherea, with the greater number, insisted Caius's crimes were Cæsonia's; that she had vitiated his reason by philters, and was the real cause of his phrensy, and of all the ills the state had suffered. Their

A.R.792. A.C.41. sentiment prevailed, and the tribune Lupus was ordered to put it in execution. He was pitched upon because he was related to Clemens. The prætorian præfect was by his means to be implicated, at least in the last act of conspiracy, as he had gone no farther in the first and chief, than to wish it well and pray for it.

Lupus found Cæsonia over Caius's body, venting her grief, smeared with blood, and bathed in tears; her daughter by her on the floor. In her grief, she repeated incessantly that Caius would not believe her, and that she had often told him what would happen; whether it be, that she had advised him to behave otherwise, and he had rejected her council; or that suspecting some conspiracy was on foot, she had endeavoured to prevail on him to take precautions he had neglected.

The moment she saw Lupus enter the room, she guessed his business by his looks, and presenting her breast, bid him strike. She suffered death with a constancy that would have done honour to a more virtuous life. The child was killed after the mother, and Lupus went to give Chærea an account how he had executed his orders.

The soldiers will have an emperor.

Hitherto the senate had acted as if they had been to dispose of the government. Perhaps they had a right so to do; but force was to decide it. The soldiers did not chuse to receive laws from the senate, and soon obliged that body, infinitely respectable, but unarmed, to yield to them.

This was the first division that had happened between the senate and army, since the new form of government introduced by Augustus

In

In the continuation of this history we shall meet with it often, and see what dreadful disorders it occasioned. As in the republican times, the power of the senate was often counterbalanced and surmounted by that of the people; so under the emperors, or rather during those intervals that the empire was vacant, the soldiers were rivals and avowed enemies to the senate. The power of the Roman emperors was, as every one knows, originally military. The army remembered it well. They would never have but one head to the state, and that head was to be no other than their commander in chief. Such was their resolution on the occasion we are now speaking of. A.R.792. A. C. 41.

Whilst the senate was deliberating, the officers and soldiers of the prætorian cohorts held likewise their councils. They had not yet forgot the dreadful dissensions and horrid civil wars a republican form of government had occasioned, and which they had felt nothing of since the empire had been governed by one man. For which reason they were all bent on monarchy. But besides they were sensible it was not consistent with their interest to let the senate give them a master, and that they would be more favoured and respected by a prince who should owe his throne to them. In short, their attachment to the family of the Cæsars would not suffer them to think of bestowing the empire elsewhere. In that family they could hardly think of any other than Claudius, brother to Germanicus, and uncle to Caius. But as to him, he was very far from dreaming of the empire.

Claudius.

A.R.792. A. C. 41. They raise Claudius to the empire.

Claudius, excessively timid, and as full of fear as he was void of ambition, when he saw the emperor, his nephew, assassinated just under his eyes, thought of nothing but how to hide himself. He ran up to the top of the palace, and there getting behind a door concealed himself in the hangings. A private soldier, called Gratus, running about, either in quest of the assassins, or to see what he could plunder, going accidentally into the room where Claudius was, perceived his feet hang out. Curious to see who was hid there, he drew near, and lifted up the tapestry. Claudius, frightened out of his wits, thought they were going to kill him, and threw himself at the soldier's feet, who, knowing him, directly saluted him emperor; Gratus was soon joined by other soldiers. They put Claudius into a litter, and as his own slaves had all ran away through fear, themselves took him on their shoulders, and carried him cro s the forum towards their camp. Claudius looked so melancholy and affrighted, that many who saw him thus carried to the prætorian camp, pitied his fate, concluding they were going to put him to death.

It was a long time before he could recover himself; and the consuls having sent a tribune of the people to desire his company at the meeting of the senate I have just been speaking of, he answered, he could not go, for that he was withheld of necessity and by force. He spent the night in the camp.

The face of affairs next day gave him some encouragement. The people had joined the Prætorians, and would have Claudius for their emperor

emperor. The senate was greatly perplexed, having on their side only the four cohorts that were within the city, nor was their fidelity to be absolutely depended on. A.R.792. A. C. 41.

They made however one effort more, sending * two more tribunes of the people to Claudius, exhorting him not to oppose the public liberty and welfare, but to submit to the laws, assuring him he should enjoy every honour and prerogative a citizen could possess in a free city. The deputies acquitted themselves very ill of their commission, for seeing what forces Claudius was backed by, they went beyond their orders; adding to what they were directed to say, that if he insisted on the empire, he would acquire it more legally by receiving it from the senate.

The prætorians found if they stood firm the senate would be brought to their terms: and Claudius encouraged by them, and by king Agrippa, whom Josephus makes † a man of great importance on this occasion, answered, "He was not at all surprised to find "the senate, after being so ill used under the "late emperors, fear being governed by one "man. That he hoped to give them a better "opinion

* Neither Suetonius nor Josephus speak each of them but of one deputation, but with so different circumstances, I thought I might reasonably suppose them two.

† I speak in this manner, because I apprehend, love of his own country may have carried Josephus on this occasion a little beyond the strict bounds of truth, in what he relates concerning Agrippa. For example, he says, that the king of the Jews was invited by the senate to their meeting, that they asked his advice, and deputed him to Claudius. The Roman senate was not used to bestow such honours upon kings.

A.R.792. A. C. 41. "opinion of it by the mild and moderate use "he should make of the supreme power. That "he would have only the name, whilst the "reality should be in common with the sena- "tors and himself. That they might depend "on his word, for which his conduct hitherto "could vouch."

The senate's deputies returned with this answer; and Claudius took possession of the empire, the soldiers swearing fidelity and obedience to him. He promised to give them fifteen thousand * sesterces a man, and the officers in proportion. He was the first of the Cæsars that in a manner purchased the empire; a contagious example, that became a necessity to his successors, and was in process of time carried to a most scandalous and fatal length.

* 120l.

The senate is forced to acknowledge him.

Courage, as well as strength, forsook the senators; so that when the consuls convened the whole body to meet in the temple of Jupiter the avenger, no more than a hundred of them came. Whilst they were consulting, or rather whilst they knew not what to resolve on, the soldiers of the cohorts within the city, cried out they would have an emperor: but not to seem at once to betray the cause they had at first espoused, left the choice of that emperor to the senate. There were not wanting among the senators persons more worthy to reign than Claudius, and who had ambition enough to aspire at it. Vinicianus and Valerius Asiaticus were of that number. But Cherea and the other conspirators, obstinately zealous for liberty, opposed with all their might the election of an emperor: so that the senate was in the utmost perplexity, being able neither to follow

follow their own inclinations, because the soldiers were against it, nor to satisfy the soldiers on Cherea's account. A.R.792. A. C. 41.

That brave tribune did all he possibly could to bring back to the cause of liberty the cohorts that were deserting it. He attempted to harangue them, but they refused to hear him. "Well, said he to them, since you will "have an emperor, go take the word from "Eutyches the coachman." This Eutyches was one of the green faction in the circus, and had been a prodigious favourite with Caius. Cherea wanted to shame the soldiers, by reproaching them with their submission to men of so despicable a rank. He went so far as to say he would bring them Claudius's head, and that after having dethroned fury, he would never let stupidity reign in its place. All was to no purpose. A soldier, more mutinous than the rest, cried out, "Friends, what mad-"ness would it not be in us to draw our swords "against our comrades, and cut one anothers "throats, whilst we have an emperor related "to the whole family of the Cæsars, and who "cannot be accused of any bad thing." This exhortation determined them all, and setting up their standards they took the road to the prætorian camp, resolving to acknowledge Claudius for their emperor.

The senators were then forced to do the same. They made a decree by which all titles of sovereign power were given to Claudius, and the consuls at their head, went to pay him a homage, which, though late, and forced, was kindly received, and he protected them,

not

A.R.792. A. C. 41. not without difficulty, from the insolence and violence of the soldiers.

Cherea is put to death. After this he went to the palace, where he summoned his friends to meet to consult what was proper to be done with Cherea. All unanimously praised his action. Caius was so detested that every one thought killing him was doing the republic a signal service: and in all the disturbances that followed his death, not one, great or small, soldier or citizen, thought of revenging it. But the murder of a prince is a crime his successor never fails to punish, for his own safety. We have just seen how Cherea threatened Claudius himself: and that was, according to Dion Cassius, the pretence made use of to order his death; as if there had been occasion for any pretence, as things were circumstanced. Lupus, who killed Cæsonia and her daughter, was condemned with him.

Cornelius Sabinus, seeing all lost, exhorted Cherea to prevent his execution by a voluntary death: and such a step, so agreeable to the maxims of Pagan generosity and greatness of mind, seemed peculiarly adapted to Cherea's character: but he would not do it on any account; telling Sabinus he was willing to put Claudius to the trial. But when his death was ordered, he suffered it with firmness and resolution, and his head was struck off at one blow. Lupus, on the contrary, fearful and irresolute; trembled so, that the executioner was obliged to strike several times, so that, without avoiding death, he only prolonged and increased the pangs of it. Sabinus, whose pardon was offered him, killed himself.

Cherea

Cherea left behind him a great name: he was universally regretted: and when the feasts, instituted to appease the manes of the dead, were celebrated the February following, the people made honourable mention of him, beseeching him to forgive the ingratitude with which they had returned his benefaction. A.R. 792. A. C. 41.

Caius, on the contrary, was as much detested dead as he had been living. The honours of a public funeral were denied him. The conspirators having left his body on the spot where they killed him; it remained in that condition unheeded by any that had belonged to him, till a stranger, king Agrippa, had it removed and laid on a bed. Thence it was carried privately to a garden belonging to one of his country-seats, where a pile was erected in haste, and his body, but half burnt, was thrown into a ditch that was hardly covered over again. His sisters, Agrippina and Julia, when they returned from exile, thought it a disgrace to them to have their brother's remains lay in that condition. His body was taken up again by their order, entirely burnt, and put into the ground with some ceremony. The senate would have branded his memory, had they not been prevented by Claudius. His name was however suppressed, as well as Tiberius's, in the solemn oaths that were taken every year. They wished to be able to abolish entirely the memory of that horrid prince; and the senate ordered all his copper coin to be melted down again. Demonstrations of public hatred to Caius after his death. *Joseph. Antiq.* xix. 3. *Suet. Calig.* 59. *Dio. l.* lx.

BOOK

BOOK VIII.

CLAUDIUS.

SECT. I.

Description of Claudius, and his life, before he was raised to the empire. His moderation in the beginning of his reign. Amnesty. Proofs of Claudius's good nature. He abolishes the law relating to high-treason. His respect for the senate. His deference to the magistrates. His modesty in every thing relating to his person and family. His conduct in all respects directly opposite to Caius's. He is extremely beloved by the people. Claudius governed by his wives and freemen. Idea of Messalina, Paulus, Narcissus, and Calistus his chief freemen. Their enormous power. Julia, daughter to Germanicus, banished, and afterwards put to death. Seneca banished. An account of his life. His family. His turn for Stoic philosophy. His austerity. His eloquence, of what kind. His poetical works. His fondness of study. His bad state of health. He had been Quæstor before he was banished. He bears his disgrace at first with resolution and fortitude. But does not keep up that character. War in Germany. Galba restores discipline among the troops

troops. Mauritania reduced into a Roman province. Claudius's liberalities to several kings, and particularly to Agrippa. He favours the Jews. Claudius's second consulship. Examples of his moderation. Birth of Britannicus. Fine saying of Claudius with regard to those he employed in the government of Province. His care of the public welfare. A harbour formed at the mouth of the Tiber. A sea monster drove on the shore. Ap. Silanus is put to death. Revolt and death of Camillus Scribonianus. Strict enquiries made concerning the revolt. Deaths of Aria and Petus. Remarks on Aria. Soldiers condemned to die for having killed their officers who assisted Camillus. Claudius is fond of judging, and makes himself contemptible by it. Inconsistency of Claudius's conduct with regard to the rights of Roman citizens, and the dignity of senators. Some laudable things. Sundry regulations and customs of Claudius. The Lycians deprived of their liberty. Dearth in Rome, occasioned by Messalina and the freemen. Messalina's abominable lewdness. Death of Julia, daughter to Drusus, son of Tiberius. Death of Passienus, poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Particularities relating to that orator. Part of Britain conquered.

Description of Claudius, and his life before he was raised to the empire.

WE have hitherto had so little occasion to speak of Claudius, that, though grand-nephew to Augustus, nephew to Tiberius, and uncle to Caligula, he is a kind of new personage in this history, whom it may not be amiss to be a little acquainted with, before we enter on the events of his reign.

Claudius

Claudius, second son of Drusus and Antonia, was born at Lyons the first of August in the year of Rome 742, whilst his father was gaining great glory in the German war. He was named Ti. Claudius Drusus. In after-times, instead of the sirname *Drusus* he took that of *Germanicus*, to which, when emperor, he added Cæsar, though it did not belong to the Julian family either by birth or adoption. He is known in history by his family name *Claudius*.

His infancy was so weak and sickly, that he never got over the impressions it made both on his body, and more especially his mind; for he remained all his life so stupid, that he was incapable of application or business of any kind. He had not sense enough to conduct himself; and when no longer under the care of his tutors, there was a necessity of continuing him a long time under a governor, who led him like a child.

A mild education would have been very necessary for so weak and timid a child, who in the main did not want understanding. He went through his studies tolerably well, and acquired a competent knowledge of the Greek and Roman authors: nay, he was an author himself, and by Livy's advice wrote the history of his own times; not indeed with judgment, though his stile was not altogether void of elegance. In what discourses he composed whilst emperor, on such matters as occurred, his diction was pure and correct. If therefore care had been taken to represent mildly to him whatever he did amiss, one might have hoped to correct what was more faulty in him, and perhaps have succeeded so far, as to enable him

Suet Claud. 41, 42.

Tac. Ann. xiii. 3.

him to appear with decency. But he had the fate of most children to whom nature has not been bountiful; to be treated harshly by all that came near him. His mother, though in other respects a wise and judicious princess, used to call him *a man-monster, a piece of a man, spoilt in the making;* and speaking of any one that was silly or wanted sense, *he is more stupid*, she would say, *than my son Claudius.* His grandmother Livia, naturally hard and haughty, always treated him with great contempt, and seldom would vouchsafe even to speak to him; or if she did think proper to give him any piece of advice, it was in writing, and couched in three or four words, sharp and virulent; or by ordering somebody else to tell him. His governor was a brutish fellow, whose trade had been to drive horses, and who could never lay aside, when with his pupil, the surliness and rusticity of his first calling. So that all things conspired to make Claudius worse, and to stifle the few sparks of sense and reason nature had bestowed on him. *Suet. Claud. 2, 9.*

Augustus only, who was but his great uncle, was kind to him. We have a letter of that prince's still remaining, in which he tells Livia, he would make Claudius sup every night at his table, during her absence, that he might not be left alone with his preceptor. In another letter of his to Livia he expresses a satisfaction mixed with surprise, on account of a declamation in which Claudius had succeeded very well.

But as to pushing him forward, or raising him to honours, like his brother Germanicus, that Augustus never could think of doing, for fear

Sue. Αὐτοκράτωρ. Dio. l. LX.

fear of exposing him to laughter, or being laughed at himself for it. And indeed Claudius's person was fit only to excite laughter. He stood awkwardly on his legs, and when he walked, hobbled and tottered indecently: his head and hands shook, his laugh was that of an ideot, and the moment he grew angry his mouth would foam, his voice grew hoarse and hollow, and he could not articulate a word plain. He had no notion of decency and decorum, of the value of words, nor of doing or saying any thing properly. Augustus was so afraid of his silliness, that permitting him, at Livia's request, to perform some function of very little consequence at the games in honour of Mars, it was, on condition somebody should be there to direct and have an eye over him, for fear he should do something foolish or ridiculous. For these reasons he never raised him above the station of a Roman knight, granting him, as his only decoration, the dignity of augur: and in his will did not name him to succeed, but in the third rank, and with several others no ways related to his family: nor did he leave any thing more than a *legacy of* * *eight hundred thousand* sesterces.

* 6100*l*

His uncle Tiberius behaved in the same manner to him. When solicited to promote him to honours, all he would do was to give him the ornaments of consul: and when Claudius, not content with a bare outside shew, begged for something more, some real magistracy, Tiberius, for answer, sent him † forty pieces of

† The piece of gold was worth very little more than half a guinea of our money, consequently the forty pieces were equal to about twenty guineas.

of gold to divert himself with during the Saturnalia*. From that time Claudius, despairing ever to obtain the honours his birth entitled him to, took to a private life, spending all his time in his gardens near Rome, or at a country-seat he had in Campania; and in consequence of his low way of thinking, got acquainted with the meanest sort of people, men of profligate lives and bad morals, who soon plunged him into debauchery. Wine, gaming, and women, became his sole occupation, and made him still more despicable than his stupidity.

Some respect was however paid him, on account of the name he bore, when he made his appearance in the circus or theatres. Twice the Roman knights chose him their deputy and speaker before the senate and consuls. The senate, had they not been prevented by Tiberius, would have received him into their body, and given him the rank of consul. In short, we have seen how Tiberius himself, having destroyed almost all his family, had some thoughts of naming him his successor; and when he laid aside that design, on account of his imbecility, at least he shewed some regard towards him in his will, and by recommending to the army, the senate and Roman people, all that belonged to him, and more particularly Claudius, to whom he left two millions of sesterces. (16,000*l.*)

His fortune varied greatly under Caligula. That young emperor, studying at first to gain the people's hearts, made his uncle a senator, and

* The Saturnalia among the Romans answered to our Carnival.

and consul with himself. A second consulship was destined Claudius, to be entered on after an interval of four years. He presided several times over the games instead of Caius, and all that were present honoured him with acclamations, wishing a thousand prosperities to the emperor's uncle, Germanicus's brother.

But these applauses soon vanished, and were succeeded by mockery and insults. Caius laid himself no longer under any restraint towards his uncle, than he did towards the whole empire. Claudius became his may-game: a page could not have thought of more tricks than he did, to divert himself at the expence of that weak prince. If Claudius happened to come a little late to the emperor's supper, all the guests placed themselves so that he could find no room, and made him go quite round the table before they vouchsafed to receive him. When he fell asleep after dinner, as he frequently did, for he slept but little in the night, they would shoot olive or other fruit stones at him: and sometimes the buffoons would whip him, or rap his fingers with a ferula to awake him; or clap a pair of shoes on his hands, that when he awaked, and went to rub his eyes, he might rub the shoes over his face.

He met with accidents of a more serious nature too, and was more than once in danger from a prince not less cruel than outrageous. Some things of that nature have been taken notice of in the foregoing book; but besides those, Claudius being ordered to see the statues of Nero and Drusus, Caius's elder brothers, set up in their proper places, and do

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ing it with his usual negligence, he was very near being deposed with ignominy. After that, he was perpetually plagued with accusations against him, often made by people of his own household. One of his slaves had the impudence to accuse him of a capital crime. The affair was proceeded in, and Caius would be his judge: nor did he spare him, but because he held him in too much contempt to fear him. A will, to which he had subscribed as witness, was decreed forged, and set aside. I have already said how Caius received him in Gaul, when he went there at the head of the senate's deputation. From that time he was ignominiously reduced to vote in the senate the last of all of consular rank. Such was the man, despicable and despised to the highest degree, who was to be raised to the empire; that nothing might be wanting to humble the Roman pride most completely.

Jos. Antiq. xix. 1.

Suet.

Caius Augustus IV.	A.R.792.
Cn. Sentius Saturninus.	A. C.41.

His moderation in the beginning of his reign.

Claudius raised to sovereignty, by an event in which, as we have seen, himself had no share; behaved, at first, with a moderation suiting his character. There are vices which suppose and require genius: Claudius had not enough of that to be either ambitious or high minded.

Suet. Claud. 11, 12. Dio. l. lx.

When he received the titles of honour offered him by the senate, he declined that of *Father of the Country*, which however he took afterwards; and never would use the pre-name of *Imperator*.

A.R.792. A. C. 41. Amnesty. He granted a general act of pardon for all that had happened during the two days of trouble and confusion preceding that on which the senate at last consented to acknowledge him; and he observed it punctually. None were punished but those principally concerned in Caius's death. He would suffer no perquisitions to be made, either concerning such as had conspired against his predecessor, or those that had opposed his own elevation. Men whom he might have looked upon as rivals and concurrents, since they had been thought of for emperor instead of him, not only had nothing to fear from his resentment, but were loaded with his favours. He always treated Galba, who then commanded the legions in lower Germany, as a friend, though Galba had been strongly pressed to think of the empire, when Caius's death was first known. Valerius Asiaticus obtained a second consulship; and if he perished, it was owing to the treachery of Messalina and Vitellius. Vinicianus might have enjoyed his rank and life in peace, had he not rendered himself guilty, and deserved death, by associating with Camillus Scribonianus to dethrone the emperor. Claudius had no gall; and those who had insulted him when weak and little, had nothing to fear from him when emperor, if they did not provoke him by new offences.

Suet. Galb. 1.

Proofs of Claudius's good-nature.

He shewed his good-nature by the honours he paid to the memories of all the princes and princesses of his family, though in the main he had no great reason to be very fond of them. His most solemn and sacred oath was to swear by the genius of Augustus. He caused divine

honours

honours to be decreed Livia, in which he was undoubtedly guilty of impiety, though he had the advantage of shewing greater gratitude towards a grandmother, always hard-hearted to him, than Tiberius had done towards his own mother, to whom he owed the empire. Claudius instituted feasts in honour of his father Drusus, his mother Antonia, his brother Germanicus, not forgetting Mark Antony, his grand-father, whose memory had been branded by so many decrees of the senate. He finished a triumphal arch began in honour of Tiberius, that had been left imperfect. And lastly, though he might think it his duty to annul and abrogate all orders and laws made by Caius, yet he would not suffer the day on which that odious prince was killed, to be numbered among the days of festivity and rejoicing, notwithstanding it was that of his own accession to the empire. He likewise recalled his nieces who had been banished by their brother, and returned them their estates that had been forfeited. A.R. 792. A. C. 41.

He abolished the law relating to high treason, so tremendous under Tiberius and Caius, and set at liberty all that were detained in prison on that tyrannical pretence. He abolishes the law relating to high treason.

He shewed a great respect for the senate, whose authority he desired the sanction of in all he did of any importance. For affairs that required dispatch and were of less moment, he revived the privy council, instituted by Augustus, but disused from the time of Tiberius's retreat to Caprea. As fear operated strongly on him, Caius's death, and the senate's deliberations against himself, left such an impression His respect for the senate.

of

A.C.792. A. R. 41. of dread and terror, that, during the first thirty days of his being emperor, he dared not enter the senate house; and when he did go after that, he was always escorted by the prætorian præfect, and some tribunes of his guards; though not till he had first asked and obtained the senate's leave.

His deference to the magistrates.

Such was his deference to the magistrates, that if the consuls in the senate rose from their seats to come near to speak to him, he rose too, and went to meet them. He would join the prætors, and sit with them as an assistant judge only. The tribunes of the people waiting on him at his tribunal, on some occasion, he made his excuses to them, that the place was so narrow he could not desire them to sit down.

His modesty in every thing relating to his person and family.

In every thing relating to his person and family, he observed all the modesty of a private man. He instituted no games nor feasts for his birth-day. Far from giving into Caius's sacrilegious follies, he forbid any one adoring or offering up sacrifices to him. He suppressed those indecent acclamations custom had introduced in the senate, so unbecoming the gravity of that respectable body. But that custom, founded on flattery, prevailed again in after times, and historians have given us such instances, as sufficiently justify Claudius's contempt of it. The triumphal dress was decreed him to be worn whenever he assisted at their games. He put it on on some particular occasions; but more usually was dressed only in a robe bordered with purple, like all other magistrates. He would suffer no more than three statues to be erected to him, saying it was an

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idle expence, and inconvenient in all public places or buildings. A.R.792. A.C.41.

He had two daughters; Antonia, by Ælia, and the melancholy Octavia, known by her misfortunes only. He married the eldest to Cn. Pompeius, whom he permitted to reassume the surname of *Magnus* or *Great*, which Caius had taken from him. The youngest was betrothed in her cradle to L. Silanus. These alliances were very proper according to the customs of the Romans, who acknowledged no nobility but that of their own nation. What I would observe, is, that the ceremonies were performed without any shew, or pomp, or public rejoicings. The courts of justice were open as usual, the senate met, and Claudius took his seat, and gave judgment, as at other times. His sons-in-law had however no reason to complain that he neglected their promotion. They were treated just as the young princes of the imperial blood had been by Augustus and Tiberius, and were allowed to stand candidates for posts and employments, five years before the age prescribed by law.

His conduct in all respects directly opposite to Caius's

Claudius studied to behave in a manner quite opposite to what Caius had done, and openly declared how much he disapproved of that mad prince's government. He abolished the new taxes, burnt the two memorials I have spoken of, intitled the *Sword* and *Dagger*, and put to death the freeman Protogenes who kept them. He ordered all the papers, of which Caius had burnt copies, whilst he carefully kept the originals, to be brought him. The authors, or those who were accused, were to read and examine them, after which they were

A.R.792. A. C. 41. were all burnt in their presence. I have already said, Claudius would not suffer the senate to brand the memory of his predecessor; but he had all his statues taken away in one night. He suppressed the custom of new years gifts, which was become a perfect plunder and rapine under Caius. A stranger to all low and sordid interest; he forbid every one that had relations making him their heir; and even indemnified several families for what they had suffered under the two last reigns, by wills made through fear or flattery. Cities had the statues of their gods, taken away and carried to Rome by Caius's orders, restored them. In a word, detesting, with all honest men, the furies of that tyrant, he took care to spare his memory so far only as the dignity of the imperial family, and the prerogatives of sovereign authority were nearly concerned.

He is greatly beloved by the people.

No wonder if such conduct made Claudius greatly beloved in the beginning of his reign. The people perfectly adored him; and a report being spread that he had been assassinated as he was going to Ostium, the mob grew outrageous, and accused the soldiers of treason, and the senate of parricide, and would have raised a violent sedition, if several persons had not spoken to them by the magistrates order, assuring them positively, that the emperor was alive, and returning home.

Claudius governed by his wives and freemen.

The rest of his life was far from being of a piece with these laudable beginnings. Too common a change, of which almost every new reign affords but too sure an example. What is singular in this is, that there was no artifice, no disguise in the conduct by which Claudius

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at first gained all that popular favour and esteem. He was naturally inclined to do good, and incapable of dissembling. But what can the good inclinations of a weak mind avail, against the ascendant of the wicked continually practising upon it? Claudius was made to be governed. From his infancy he had been used to implicit obedience to his grandmother Livia, his mother Antonia, and the freemen that should have been his servants. Accustomed to live under the direction of women and valets, he continued to do when emperor, what he had done all his life before: and his reign was properly the reign, first of Messalina, and next of Agrippina on one hand, and on the other, of Pallas, Narcissus, Callistus, Polybius, Felix, and a pack of other miscreant freemen. A. R. 792. A. C. 41. *Dio.*

Idea of Messalina. *Suet. Claud.* 26.

Claudius, when he came to the empire, was married to the famous Messalina, daughter of Valerius Messala Barbatus, his cousin-german. Every one is acquainted with the dissolute life that princess led: but they do not form a right idea of her, unless to her lasciviousness they add cruelty: and such cruelty as made her shed the noblest blood of Rome to gratify her jealousy and revenge.

Pallas, Narcissus, and Callistus, his chief freemen. *Suet. Claud.* 28, 29.

The three most powerful of Claudius's freemen were, his treasurer Pallas, Narcissus his secretary, and Callistus, whose business was to receive all petitions to the emperor. We shall have opportunities enough to describe the two first in the course of this history. I shall only mention here what Pliny says, that they were richer than Crassus had ever been; and that Claudius complaining one day of the poverty of the imperial treasury, was answered, he *Jos. Ant. lib.* xx. 1. *Tacitus. Plin.* xxxiii. 10.

could

A.R.792. would be rich enough if two of his freemen
A. C. 41. would divide their fortunes with him.
Suet. Jos. Callistus, who was as rich as they, had been freeman to Caius: and from that time insinuated himself into Claudius's favour, at the same time that he entered into the conspiracy against his patron and emperor. When Caius was killed, Callistus made Claudius believe he had saved his life: and that being ordered to poison him, he had invented pretences to avoid doing it. Whoever forms a just notion, of Caius, will hardly think this story probable, yet Claudius believed it, and accordingly put the highest trust in Callistus.

Sen. ep. 47. One may judge of the insolence of that freeman, by an instance Seneca tells us he was eye-witness of. "I have seen, says he, Callis-
"tus's old master stand waiting at his door.
"That master sold him as a useless slave he
"would not keep in his house; and Callistus,
"to be even with him, shut him out of his,
"whilst others were admitted."

Their enormous power. To these proud slaves Claudius was himself a slave. They had gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that nobody could approach him without their permission. They granted leave of entrance, by giving such as they pleased to admit, the privilege of wearing on the finger a gold ring, on which the emperor's effigies was stamped. Those on whom they were pleased to bestow this favour, were probably excused from the humiliating ceremony which others that wanted to see Claudius were forced to undergo: every one was searched for fear of arms concealed under their clothes. It was but very late, and with great difficulty,

Plin. xxxiii. 3.

Dio. Sueton. Claud. 35.

that

that women and young people of either sex were dispensed from it. A.R.792 A. C.41.

Claudius's freemen disposed of every thing in the empire. They sold, or gave honours, the command of armies, and immunities to whom they pleased, and ordered punishments where they thought proper; and all this without their master's even knowing of it. They revoked gifts made by him, set aside his judgments, annulled his grants of offices or employments; and in a word, decided the life or death of persons of the greatest consequence; which Julia, daughter of Germanicus, fatally experienced in the beginning of her uncle Claudius's reign.

Julia, daughter to Germanicus, banished, and afterwards put to death. *Dio.* & *Suet. Claud.* 29.

That princess, naturally haughty, and valuing herself on her birth, would not stoop to Messalina, but disdained paying any court to her. Besides that, she was handsome, and having free access to Claudius, as his niece, was often with him, and at all hours. Messalina, jealous and highly offended, resolved her ruin, and completed it with the help of the freemen. The first thing she imputed to her was lewdness and adultery; an accusation well becoming Messalina to make: and without proving any crime, without even hearing what the accused, though of that distinction, had to say in her own defence, she was first banished, and shortly after put to death.

Seneca banished. *Dio.*

Seneca was accused at the same time as guilty of adultery with Julia: he was banished to the island of Corsica. A condemnation of Messalina's procuring can leave no stain, and the whole life of that eminent man justifies him sufficiently. I shall here give a short account of

A.R. 792. A. C. 41. of it to the time I am now speaking of. It is of importance to be well acquainted with a person we shall soon see acting a very great part, and for whom we cannot avoid interesting ourselves, were it only for what writings of his we have remaining.

An account of his life. His family. *Lips. vit. Sen.* *San. P. in Proem. Controv. l. 1.*

Seneca was born under Augustus's reign, at Cordoua in Spain, of a family of distinction, and who had a taste for learning. His father, M. Annæus Seneca, a Roman knight, had from his infancy a great desire to visit Rome: but prevented by the rage of civil wars, could not put his design in execution, till peace and tranquillity were restored to that capital of the world, by the government's being in the hands of one man. He made a great figure there by his eloquence in the declamatory way, which was then greatly in vogue. We have of his, a collection of fragments of declamations of the most famous rhetoricians he had heard. He had an extraordinary memory, and in his younger days was thought a prodigy for it. Though impaired by age, yet it sufficed to furnish him with those pieces, of which he made a collection, at the request and for the use of his sons.

He had three, Novatus, our Seneca, and Mela or Mella. Novatus was adopted by Junius Gallio, whose name he took. The Gallio mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles was proconsul of Achaia. He applied himself to the study of eloquence, and acquired some reputation in it. Mela was father to the poet Lucan. But Seneca was the glory of his family.

Act. Ap. 18.

His

His father cultivated with care the happy dispositions of a fine genius, born with all the qualifications proper to form an orator, penetration, discernment, elevation, and fecundity. He designed him for the bar, which, among the Romans, was the road to honour. The son's taste was more for the study of stoic philosophy; and his own account of the impression his master's lessons made on him, is charming. In one of his letters on that subject, wrote when he was pretty old, he expresses himself thus: A.R.792. A. C. 41.

His turn for stoic philosophy. His austerity. *Sen. ep.* 108.

"When * I heard the philosopher Attalus "exclaim against the vices, errors, and ills of "life, I could not help pitying mankind, and "was struck with admiration, for one I thought "above the rank of wretched mortals. If he "undertook to praise poverty, and to shew "how much whatever exceeds the calls of "nature, is a useless load, and a perfect burden to him that bears it; I was often tempted to become poor the moment I left his "school. When he attacked voluptuousness, "and praised chastity, frugality, moderation, "a heart pure and detached, not only from "illicit

* Ego quum Attalum audirem in vitia, in errores, in mala vitæ perorantem, sæpe misertus sum generis humani, et illum sublimem altioremque humano fastigio credidi.—Quum vero commendare paupertatem cœperat, et ostendare quam quidquid usum excederet, pondus esset super vacuum et grave ferenti, sæpe exire eschola, pauperi libuit. Quum cœperat voluptates nostras traducere, laudare castum corpus, sobriam mensam puram mentem, non tantum ab illicitis voluptatibus, sed etiam supervacuis, licebat circumscribere gulam et ventrem. Inde mihi quædam permansere. Magno enim in omnia impetu veneram. *Sen ep.* 108.

A.R. 792. A. C. 41. "illicit pleasures, but even from all that are "superfluous, I was ready to resolve to ob- "serve that temperance in every thing. Of "those happy dispositions, adds he, I have "still retained something, because I listened "with extraordinary attention to all he said."

He then proceeds to give us an admirable sample of what he had retained; renouncing for ever all superfluous enjoyments of the pleasures of table, all meats that serve only to provoke to eat more, those who have already eat sufficiently: all use of perfumes, wine and warm baths: contenting himself with a hard mattress that would resist the weight of the body; with what was necessary to sustain life comfortably, without superfluity.

He carried things too far at his first setting out. Young Seneca, living but to hear his masters and learn from them, adopted the singular maxim of a philosopher he calls Sotio, who, without being a professed Pithagorean, exhorted his disciples to abstain from whatever had life. "If* Pythagoras was right, said "he, and there really be a transmigration of "the souls of men into the bodies of beasts, "it is cruel to eat of their flesh. If he was "mistaken, what risk do you run? that only "of being abstemious." On the strength of this fine reasoning, Seneca practised a Pythagorean abstinence for a whole year, and assures us, he not only grew used to it, but liked it. He thought his mind more active, quicker, clearer, and fitter for study.

Nor

* Si vera sunt ista, abstinuisse animalibus innocentia est: si falsa, frugalitas est. Quod istic credulitati tuæ damnum. *Sen. ibid.*

Nor was it because he grew tired of it that he left it off. His father did not like to see him so strongly attached to the study of philosophy, which he thought might prejudice his future fortune. He took advantage of the noise, what the Romans called foreign superstitions, made at that time in the city. That was no other than Judaism, which, as every one knows, is partly characterised, by abstaining from certain kinds of food. Now as Tiberius was just then driving the Jews out of Rome, as we observed in the fifth year of his reign, Seneca the father pretended to fear his son might bring himself into some scrape, by persisting in a regimen that might be deemed superstitious: "And I * was easily persuaded, says Seneca, "to eat better things." A.R. 792. A. C. 41.

He did not however so far give himself up to philosophy, as to neglect eloquence entirely. Those two studies were very compatible, and especially that part of philosophy that relates to the manners, passions, and knowledge of the human heart, has been thought by great judges, necessary to an orator. Seneca engaged in pleadings, and excelled so far as to excite Caius's jealousy. His success in it, as we have seen, was very near costing him his life.

His eloquence, of what kind.

We have none of his pleadings, either because he did not publish them, or that they perished with so many other monuments of antiquity. But by his philosophical works, we may form a judgment of his stile of eloquence very different from Cicero's, and from that of true

* Nec difficulter mihi ut inciperem melius cænare, persuasit. *Sen. ibid*

A.R. 792. A. C. 41. true taste. His phrases are loose and unconnected; his thoughts bold, but often false; his antitheses studied and far fetched; his turns singular, and always tending to surprise by a false air of paradox. The beauties of nature, and an easy flowing stile, the language as it were of the things themselves, are not to be found in him. Seneca abounds in a variety of fine thoughts, but then he gives them all the same turn; his expression is not suited to things, but he suits things to his expression.

Quintil. Instit. Or x. 1. The* defects which we, after Quintilian, find in Seneca's elocution, are in themselves seducing: and as he had a strong and elevated mind, with a powerful imagination, and much acquired knowledge, he gained great reputation, and became the only model by which young people chose to form themselves: nothing was read but Seneca: and of course all true eloquence, which had already began to decline towards the end of Augustus's reign, was soon lost. The first blow was given it by a parcel of declaimers; but they had not credit enough to form themselves into a sect. A man of Seneca's distinguished abilities, soon had a crowd of imitators, who often copied only his defects.

Quintil. ibid. Himself was very sensible of the difference between him and the ancients: for which reason he affected to undervalue them, well knowing their admirers could not praise him. Suetonius taxes him with having given his disciple Nero a dislike to them, that he might esteem none but him.

Suet. Ner. 52.

His

* In eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosiora, quod abundant dulcibus vitiis.

His stile of eloquence was well adapted to the refinement and corrupt manners of the age in which he lived. Himself laid down the maxim on which is founded this reflection that condemns him. "Such * as the life is, such "the stile, says he; such as the morals are, "such the discourse. If the discipline of a "state be relaxed and enervated by luxury, a "proof of the public licentiousness will soon "appear in the general effeminacy and affec-"tation of stile." What the Roman morals were under Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, is well known; and it is odd enough a man of Seneca's austerity should have been the author and chief promoter of a depraved kind of eloquence, which, by his own confession, naturally sympathises with a depravity of morals. A.R.792. A. C. 41.

His poetic works.

Seneca amused himself sometimes in poetry, of which he attempted several kinds. Some epigrams are ascribed to him. His satyr against Claudius has some pretty lines, and smart. The tragedies that go under his name, are not all of them his: but the learned are pretty well agreed he was author of Medea, Hippolitus, the Troad, and perhaps Oedipus. The beauties and defects of his stile are obvious in them: and there is a nobleness of thought dressed up in expressions more ingenious, than true and natural.

His fondness of study.

He was always very fond of study. When old, and retired from court, he applied himself

* Talis hominibus oratio, qualis vita . . . genus dicendi imitatur publicos mores. Si disciplina civitatis labora it, et se in delicias dedit, argumentum est luxuriæ publicæ, orationis lascivia: si modo non in uno aut in altero fuit sed approbata est et recepta. *Sen. ep.* 114.

A.R.792. A. C. 41. self to it with all the assiduity and vivacity of a young man. "I do* not spend, says he, a "day in idleness: and even borrow from the "night. I do not yield to sleep, but it over-"powers me; and when my eyes are tired "and want rest, I still keep poring on my "work. I have renounced, not only men, "but business, and especially my own. All "I think of is posterity, to whom I would "willingly be of some service, by transmit-"ing to them wholesome lessons, which I look "upon as useful receipts for the disorders of "the soul."

His bad state of health. *Sen. ep.* 54. & 78.

Such application to study is the more laudable, as Seneca never enjoyed a good state of health. He says himself there was hardly any kind of illness that he had not been afflicted with. In his youth he was troubled with violent colds, and threatened with a consumption. When older, he was asthmatic to that degree it was often thought it would kill him. Diet, sobriety, and moderate exercise kept him alive, and he preserved, to the last, strength of body sufficient for the vigour and activity of his mind.

He had been quæstor before he was banished.

Seneca, with his talents and courage, might have aspired to any thing in Rome: and indeed he had been quæstor, which was the first step to honour, when the disgrace I have spoken of

* Nullus mihi per otium dies exit: partem noctium studiis vindico. Non vaco somno, sed succumbo; et oculos vigilia fatigatos cadentesque in opere detineo. Secessi non tantum ab hominibus, sed a rebus, et primum a meis. Posterorum negotium ago: illis aliqua quæ possint prodesse conscribo. Salutares admonitiones, velut medicamentorum utilium compositiones, literis mando *Sen. ep.* 8.

of seemed for ever to set aside all farther expectations. I have said how improbable it was that he could deserve it; and every unbiassed reader must be of my opinion from the account I have given of his life. The strictness and scrupulous regularity of his morals, must surely be of greater weight than any thing Messalina could say. A.R.792. A. C. 41. *Sen. ad Helv.* 27.

He bore his disgrace at first with firmness, as may be judged by the discourse he sent his mother Helvia from his place of exile, in which he endeavours to comfort her. Helvia was a woman of merit; she had sense and virtue. Her son speaks to her in the strongest and most sublime manner: the whole pomp of stoic philosophy is di played in this performance of his. Some might be apt to think he says too much to be believed: however, it is plain, had he been greatly dejected by his misfortune, his mind could not have been sufficiently easy and undisturbed, to compose a work of a pretty just length, and so well kept up from one end to the other. He bears his disgrace at first with resolution and fortitude.

He began to grow tired of his banishment, and his resolution flagged towards the third year of his residence in Corsica. We have a piece of his wrote about that time, that does not do much honour to his philosophy. Polybius, a freeman of Claudius's, having lost his brother, Seneca composed a discourse on that subject, in which he meanly flatters that abject valet, whose insolence was such, that he would often walk in public between the two consuls. His loading the silly emperor with the most magnificent encomiums, though at the same time he held him in contempt, is less surprising. But does not keep up to that character. *Suet. Claud.* 28.

A.R.792. A. C. 41. surprising: but what is least of all to be excused is, his desiring to be recalled on any terms whatever, consenting to wave the clearing his innocence, if he could but be delivered from exile. After extolling Claudius's clemency, who, * says he, has not thrown me "down, but on the contrary, raised and supported me with his divine hand against the "shock of fortune, who intreated the senate "in my favour, and not content to pardon "me, would ask that pardon himself; he adds, "let him determine what he would have the "world think of my cause. Either his justice "will decree it good, or his clemency will re-"present it in a favourable light; the obliga-"tion to me will be the same, whether he "finds me innocent, or treats me as if I were." He concludes with saying, "he † worships the "thunder he had been so justly struck by."

Dio. ap. Val. l. 121 This was stooping low indeed; and this writing, so mean and abject, is probably what Dion Cassius tells us the author of it was afterwards so ashamed of, that he endeavoured to suppress it. To complete his misfortune, all his meanness did him no service. Seneca remained five years more in banishment; and had

* Nec enim sic me dejecit ut nollet erigere: imo ne dejecit quidem, sed impulsum a fortuna et cadentem sustinuit, et in præceps euntem leniter divinæ manus usus moderatione deposuit. Deprecatus est pro me senatum: et vitam mihi non tantum dedit, sed etiam petiit. Videbit, quidem volet existimari causam meam: vel justitia eius bonum perspiciat vel clementia faciet. Utrumque in a quo mihi ejus beneficium est, sive innocentem me curare esse, sive voluerit. *Sen. ad Polyb.* 32.

† Scias licet, ea demum fulmina esse justissima, quæ etiam precensi colunt.

had it not been for the revolution that happened at court by the fall of Messalina, he might probably have staid there all his life. But to return to the order of things, from which we have deviated a little. A. R. 792. A. C. 41.

Dion Cassius mentions in the first year of Claudius's reign, sundry regulations chiefly relating to the government of the city, and management of the theatres. Such as are fond of those matters may consult the author himself.

War in Germany. Galba restores discipline among the troops. *Dio. l. lx. Suet. Galba, c. 7.*

The Romans had at this time two wars to carry on: one on the Rhine, the other against the Moors. Galba, who commanded the legions in Lower Germany, as I have said, conquered the Catti. But he deserves less praise for that victory, which does not seem to have been very considerable, than for the discipline he restored among the troops, which his predecessor Getulicus had treated with too great indulgence and indolence. The day after he took the command upon him, the soldiers clapped their hands at some entertainment that was performed in the camp; on which he ordered them to keep their hands under their cloaths. A verse was handed about on that occasion, the sense of which is; "Soldier *, "learn to be a soldier: Galba, and not Getu-"licus commands now." It was with difficulty he granted any leave to quit the service old soldiers as well as young were constantly employed. By this conduct he gained great applause, and enabled his troops to beat the Germans.

Cabum,

* Disce miles militare, Galba est, non Getulicus.

A.R.792. A. C.41. Gabinus Secundus appears to have had the command of the army on the upper Rhine. He conquered the Mar * and Cauci, two German nations; and Suetonius observes that Claudius, no ways given to jealousy, or apt to take umbrage, permitted him, for his victory over the Cauci, to take the name of Caucicus, though since the change of government it was extremely rare for any but those of the imperial family to assume those kind of names borrowed from the nation they had conquered.

Dio. Suet. Claud. 24.

The advantage gained over the Germans, gave Claudius room to take the title of *Imperator*.

Mauritania reduced into a Roman province. *Plin.* v. 1. *& Dio.*

The war in Mauritania was of greater importance. It broke out on occasion of the death of Ptolomy, unjustly killed by Caius. Edemon, a freeman belonging to that king, resolving to revenge his master's death, persuaded the people to revolt, and by that means brought the Roman army into a country where they had never before penetrated.

Suetonius Paulus, an ancient prætor, marched against the Mauritanians. He had talents for war, and we shall see him hereafter acquire great reputation. He entered the enemy's country, laid it waste, and was the first Roman general that passed mount Atlas: which was looked upon as a memorable exploit.

Cn. Ho-

* The text of Dion Cassius says the *Maurusi*, which is visibly an error. We likewise read there, that Gabinius recovered the last of the Roman eagles lost when Varus was defeated. But for a long time past the Germans had not one in their possession. There were but two lost in the whole, and Tacitus gives Germanicus the honour of recovering them both. *See book* iii. *and* iv. *of this work*

Cn. Hosidius Geta relieved him, and had the glory of ending that war, Mauritania submitting, and becoming a Roman province. Dion Cassius embellishes the short account he gives of this expedition, with an event one may boldly pronounce fabulous. He says that Salabus, the Mauritanian general, being twice conquered by Geta, retreated to the deserts in the midst of the sands; and that the Romans pursued him, but wanting water, the whole army must have perished had not the people of the country assisted them, and procured very plentiful showers of rain by their charms and enchantments. Dion Cassius adds, that the barbarians, amazed at this prodigy, concluded the gods declared themselves in favour of the Romans, and in consequence laid down their arms. A.R.792. A. C. 41. *Dio.*

What is very certain is, that Mauritania at that time submitted to the Roman power, which by means of that conquest in Africa extended itself as far as the streights and the ocean. Claudius divided Mauritania into two departments, governed by Roman knights; and each of them took the name of its capital city. Tingis, now *Tangiers*, gave its name to Tingitan Mauritania. The other was called Cæsarian, from Cæsarea, formerly Jol, the residence of king Juba, who having enlarged and embellished that city, called it Cæsarea, out of gratitude and regard to Augustus. Claudius made it a Roman colony. It has been ruined many ages past. M. d'Anville places it between Algiers and the ancient *Cartenna*, now Tenez.

The last events I have been speaking of break in a little upon the second year of Claudius's

A.R.792. A. C. 41. dius's reign. Before I have done with the first, I must mention something of that emperor's liberalities to several kings, allies of Rome.

Claudius's liberalities to several kings, and particularly to Agrippa. *Dio.*

He restored Commagena to Antiochus. Caius first gave him the kingdom, and afterwards took it back again.

Mithridates the Iberian, made king of Armenia under Tiberius, had been sent for to Rome by Caius, and put in chains. Claudius set him at liberty, and sent him back to his dominions, which however he did not recover till some years after, the Parthians having possessed themselves of it in his absence.

Another Mithridates, a descendant of the great king of that name, was made king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus; but as Palæmon was in possession of that country, Claudius made him amends by giving him a part of Cilicia.

He heaped favours on king Agrippa, who had always been attached to his family, and had done him some personal services at the time when he was raised to the empire. Claudius enlarged his dominions, and made his kingdom of Judea and Samaria equal to what it was when possessed by his grandfather Herod. At his request he gave his brother Herod the little kingdom of Chalcis or Chalcidnea in Syria. He bestowed the ornaments of consul on one, and those of prætor on the other of them; and permitted them to return the senate thanks in the Greek tongue.

Joseph. antiq. xix. 5, 6. & *Dio.*

I have already observed that Agrippa, though he had many vices, yet was strongly attached to his religion. On his return to Jerusalem he offered up sacrifices of thanksgivings to God,

and

and hung up in the temple the chain of gold Caius had given him in exchange for the irons he had worn under Tiberius. A.R.792. A. C. 41.

Claudius was favourable to the Jews out of regard to Agrippa; he restored those of Alexandria, as I have said, to their privileges; and by a general edict allowed all the Jews throughout the empire the free exercise of their religion, provided they did not molest others in theirs *. He is favourable to the Jews.

Claudius entered on a second consulship the first of January next following his accession to the empire. It was a custom constantly observed by all the emperors after Caius, to be made consuls in the beginning of their reigns. Claudius's second consulship.

TI. CLAUDIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS II.
C. CÆSINA LARGUS. A.R.793. A. C. 42.

Claudius behaved during his consulship with a modesty that would be truly laudable, had judgment and reflection been the motives of it. He, with all the senators, swore to observe Augustus's laws and institutions, but would not suffer them to swear to his. Going out of his consulship, which he held but two months, he took the usual oath, as if he had been but a private man: and every time he was consul did the same. Examples of his moderation.

A like

* What we mention here, on the authority of Josephus is contradicted by Dion Cassius, who says Claudius forbid the Jews assembling in Rome; and that if he did not drive them out of it, as Tiberius had done, it was because they were too numerous. But Josephus quotes the acts themselves on which his account is grounded, and that authority appears to be certainly preferable to Dion Cassius's.

A.R. 793. A. C. 42. A like moderation prevailed in several other parts of his conduct. He ordered no rejoicing, no festival, for the four-and-twentieth of January, the day he was proclaimed emperor by the prætorians: only he gave five and twenty denarii to each soldier of his guards to whom he owed the empire; and that he repeated every year. If the prætors chose to celebrate that day, or his, or Messalina's birth day, he did not hinder them: but was not at all displeased if they omitted it. He left them quite at liberty to do as they pleased in that respect. This year Messalina brought him a son, who was first named, Ti. Claudius Germanicus, but is most known by the name of Britannicus that was afterwards given him. This was the first time an emperor had had a son whilst on the throne. Yet Claudius made no very extraordinary rejoicings for so fortunate, and till then, singular event.

Birth of Britannicus.

Having received complaints against the managers of the public treasury, he did not trouble them with remonstrances or reproaches, but went himself, and was present when the public revenues were farmed out, and in person reformed and corrected whatever he thought amiss. He suppressed the formal thanks lieutenants used to make the emperors in senate, when they were sent to govern provinces in their name, or to take upon them the command of armies. "They ought not, said he, "to think themselves obliged to me, as if "I employed them only because they desire "it: it is I that am obliged to them, for helping me to bear the weight of government: "and if they do their duty well, I will give "them

Fine saying of Claudius with regard to those he employed in the government of provin.

"them still greater commendations." A fine saying, and worthy, not so silly an emperor, but the wisest and best of princes. A.R. 793. A.C. 42.

Claudius imitated Augustus in his familiarity with the senators. He visited them when they were sick; and would make one in their domestic rejoicings. As much as he was governed by his slaves, there were occasions on which he would not listen to their resentments, and would even punish their insolence. A tribune of the people having given one of the prince's slaves a hearty beating, all Claudius did was to take from that magistrate, for a few days, the ushers and attendants that usually waited on him in virtue of his office. On the other hand, he ordered one of his slaves to be whipt in the forum, for behaving disrespectfully to a person of fashion.

He did not want a kind of care and concern for the public welfare in things within the sphere of his understanding. He insisted rigorously on the senators attending punctually the meetings of that body; though it be difficult to believe, on Dion Cassius's credit, that some of them were so severely reprimanded by him for neglect of duty in that respect, as to kill themselves out of despair. It having been observed to him, that the proconsuls, chosen by lot to govern the people's provinces during a year, staid too long in the city after they were appointed, by which the public service was prejudiced, he ordered them to depart before the first of April. His care of the public welfare.

He was always extremely careful of whatever concerned the civil government of the city, and its being properly supplied with provisions, *Suet. Claud. 18, 19, 20.*

A.R.793. A. C. 42. sions. A dreadful fire breaking out, he went in person to the spot, and staid there two nights; and the number of soldiers and slaves appointed to assist on those occasions, not being sufficient, he ordered the magistrates to desire the lower class of people in every part of the city to come and assist; and had bags of money brought immediately to reward the most courageous and active.

Suet. & *Dio.* During the year we are now treating of, as well as the following ones, which proved barren, Rome was afflicted with a dreadful famine. The people mutinied. Claudius was on a sudden surrounded one day by a crowd of the seditious, who loaded him with insults, threw pieces of bread at his head, nor was it without some difficulty he escaped their fury, and got into his palace by a back door.

We are not told that he punished this insolence, but that he did all he possibly could to remedy the dearth: and to prevent the transport of corn to Rome by sea being interrupted even in the worst of weather. For almost all Italy being laid out in gardens and parks belonging to the great, there was not land enough left to till for the sustenance of the inhabitants. Their corn was brought from abroad by sea, and as the navigation was difficult and dangerous in winter, they were forced to live during those hard times on what provisions had been brought them in the summer. Claudius prevailed on the merchants and traders to hazard the rigour of the season, promising to reward them amply, and to take on himself whatever losses they might sustain through badness of weather. He granted very great

great privileges to ship-builders; and resumed and executed the design Caius had formed of making a commodious harbour in Italy, where the fleets from Africa and Alexandria might ride with ease and safety. His predecessor thought of making it at Rhegium: Claudius chose to have provisions and other necessaries landed nearer Rome, and for that reason pitched upon the mouth of the Tiber to form a port. A.R. 793. A. C. 42.

A harbour formed at the mouth of the Tiber.

That river has two mouths; that of Ostium on the left, and Porto on the right; divided by an island that seems to have been formed by the slime and mud carried down by the tide. The right hand mouth was at that time much the largest, and there it was Claudius determined to build: and though the engineers and architects thought to frighten him by the expence, when they shewed him their plans, he would not be stopt by that difficulty. He undertook, says the historian Dion Cassius, and completed, a work worthy the courage and grandeur of Rome.

He dug a vast bason into which the sea came, and surrounded it with a quay: he likewise built two piers a great way out in the sea, and at the entrance a mole, on which a tower was raised in imitation of the pharos or light-house of Alexandria, and for the same use. To make the foundations of the mole the more secure he sunk and fixed at the bottom of the sea the largest ship that had ever been seen in those days. It had been made use of to bring the obelisk we have spoken of in Caius's life, from Egypt to Rome. This wonderful ship as Pliny calls it, was probably no longer fit

Plin. xvi 40.

For

A.R.793. A. C. 42. for sea, since it was employed to a purpose so different from its first destination. A town was built round this port, and took its name. It is now called *Porto*. Yet, though Trajan added new works to what Claudius had done, the whole has been destroyed several ages since, and hardly the least traces of it now remain.

A sea monster drove on the shore. *Plin.* ix. 6.

Whilst they were working at this haven, a sea monster entered it, drawn thither, says Pliny, by the smell of a cargo of hides brought from Gaul in a ship that was wrecked in that place. The monster followed its prey with such eagerness, that coming too near the land it was drove ashore. There it remained prisoner for want of depth of water to get it off again; its back appeared above the surface like the keel of a ship overset. Claudius, to give the people the satisfaction of seeing it, ordered very strong nets to be laid cross the entrance of the harbour, whilst himself at the head of the prætorian cohorts attacked the monster, sending soldiers off in boats, who struck it with their lances darted from some distance. Pliny, who was present, says he saw one of the boats sunk by the prodigious torrent of water the monster spouted out. He calls it an *Orca*, and says one cannot form a juster idea of it than by imagining an enormous mass of flesh armed with horrid teeth.

Other works of Claudius. *Plin.* xxxvi. 15. *Euseb. Chron.* *Suet.* & *Dio.* *Tac. ann.* xii. 56.

Another of Claudius's works, greatly extolled by Pliny, was his undertaking to drain the lake Fucinus. Thirty thousand men worked constantly at it for eleven years. But those works are so imperfectly explained in what historical relations of them we have remaining, and the ends Claudius intended they should answer

answer are so differently set forth by various authors, that I should be able to give but a very confused account of them. I shall however take an opportunity to speak of the naval fight Claudius exhibited on that lake, when he thought the work completed. I shall only observe here beforehand, that so much labour and expence was quite lost, the lake still subsisting under the name of the Lake of Celano in the upper Abruzzo. A.R.793. A. C. 42.

Claudius succeeded better in finishing the aqueduct began by Caius. Pliny speaks of it as the finest of all that had been built for the use of Rome. The water was conveyed about forty miles through a vaulted canal, and raised to such a height, that it supplied the seven hills inclosed within the walls of Rome. It cost upwards of * fifty millions of sesterces.

* *Four hundred thousand pounds.*

What I have hitherto said of Claudius would give one a good opinion of him; and indeed he wanted only to be properly conducted. But it is the common fate of weak princes to fall into bad hands. Vice is bolder and more active than probity. Without doubt there were honest men in Rome in Claudius's time: but it was Messalina and Narcissus that governed, and the little good they suffered him to do, was mixed with all the evil such souls as theirs could be capable of. There was no guarding against their black intrigues with a prince that knew not how to think: as the sequel of this reign will sufficiently prove, and particularly the tragical death of Appius Silanus, a man of the first rank, and very nearly allied to the imperial family.

He

A R. 793. A. C. 42. Ap. Silanus put to death. *Suet. Claud.* 29. 37. *Dio.*

He was governor of Spain at the end of Claudius's reign. Claudius sent for him to Rome, made him marry Messalina's mother, and gave his own daughter in marriage to Silanus's son. He treated him with the greatest respect on all occasions. But Silanus refusing to consent to Messalina's lewd desires, she and Narcissus together concerted his ruin. They well knew, that by frighting Claudius they could make him do any thing; in consequence of which they laid the following plot. Narcissus goes one morning into his master's bed-chamber before he was up, and with a terrified look tells him he had dreamt he saw Silanus stab him. Messalina, affecting great surprize, seems to wonder Narcissus's dream should agree so well with her's, saying, she had dreamt of nothing else for several nights past. At that instant word was brought Silanus was there: he had been sent for in the emperor's name. His happening to come just at that moment, seemed to Claudius a convincing proof of his criminal designs, and he had him killed instantly. So much did he think he had done right, that the next day he gave the senate an account of the whole affair, not forgetting to observe how greatly he was obliged to his freeman Narcissus, who, sleeping as well as waking, watched over his safety.

It would be to no purpose to alledge in favour of Claudius's faint-hearted cruelty, that he was several times in danger of being assassinated. It is true Suetonius says, a mean fellow was found in the middle of the night, armed with a dagger, at the emperor's chamber door; and that two Roman knights were detected

Suet. Claud. 13.

tected waiting to kill him, one as he should come from the theatre, the other whilst he should be offering up a sacrifice in the temple of Mars. Claudius was so terrified at the last of these adventurers that he immediately convened in the senate, and with sighs and tears, deplored the misfortune of his condition, which exposed him every where to dangers, almost inevitable: and it was a long time after, before he would appear again in public. A.R. 793. A. C. 42. *Suet. Claud.* 36.

But most of these events, and perhaps all of them, were posterior to Silanus's death, and therefore can be no excuse for that. The truth is, Claudius was good only by instinct, not reason; and, when actuated by another instinct, he felt no repugnancy at being cruel. Reason and intellect had no power over him; and the impressions made by those that governed him, added to his stupid facility, made him in fact commit as much ill as if he had been absolutely wicked himself.

When his character was once known, the great men were all alarmed; being sensible their lives and fortunes were very precarious under such a prince. Vinicianus, who had been concerned in the conspiracy against Caligula, and had been proposed by the senate to succeed him in the empire, thought he had more reason to fear than any other, and resolved to try every means to remove the danger that threatened him. But he had no forces under his command. For that reason he associated with Furius Camillus Scribonianus, who was of the same way of thinking, and had the command of a considerable army in Dalmatia. Camillus, in concert with Vinicianus, and Revolt and death of Camillus Scribonianus. *Dio & Suet. Claud.* & 35.

A.R.793. A. C. 42. probably several more, revolted openly: and was immediately joined by a great number of senators and Roman knights.

We are pretty much at a loss as to what passed on this occasion. The rebellion however was soon quelled. According to Suetonius's account Camillus was proclaimed emperor by those of his party. Dion Cassius says, he pretended to act under the authority of the senate and Roman people; and promised to restore the old form of government. What is very certain is, that Claudius was extremely terrified: and that Camillus, who knew his weakness, having wrote him a letter full of bitter reproaches and menaces, which he concluded by ordering him to resign the empire and be content with a private station, the fearful emperor held a council on that occasion, to consult whether he should obey his rival's orders.

He was soon delivered from his uneasiness. The fifth day after the rebellion broke out, Camillus's troops began to repent, and a pretended ill omen made them change their minds entirely. Orders being given for them to march, their standards, probably stuck too deep in the earth, were not very easily plucked out. That was enough to make them conclude the gods were averse to their infidelity towards their lawful emperor: and turning at once from their first design, they killed their officers who had induced them to rebel. Camillus finding by that what he had to expect himself, fled to the little island of Issa: but could not avoid his ill fate: he was killed there, in the arms of his wife, by one Volaginius, a private soldier

Suet. Oth. c. 1.

P. Aurel. 16.

soldier, who afterwards attained the highest military honours. A.R.793. A. C. 42. *Tac. Hist.* II. 76.

Claudius had no thoughts of punishing the legions for a disobedience of such short duration: on the contrary, he rewarded them for their speedy return to their duty. The senate gave the seventh and eleventh legions the names of the *Claudian*, the *Faithful*, and the *Pious*. Junia, Camillus's wife, and her son likewise partook of the emperor's clemency: but Junia seems to have been entitled to it by impeaching all that had any share in her husband's revolt. She was only banished: young Camillus had a free pardon. *Dio.* *Tac. an.* XII. 52. *Plin.*

Not so his father's accomplices. Very strict enquiry was made after them, and a great many people of distinction lost their lives. A prætor, at that time in place, was forced to resign, and was put to death. Vinicianus killed himself. Messalina, Narcissus, and the other freemen took that opportunity to glut their revenge, and enrich themselves with the spoils of criminals. They not only caused several senators and Roman knights to be condemned and executed, but first had them put to the rack; though Claudius had sworn solemnly at the beginning of his reign, that no person of distinction should ever be tortured. Those that escaped were indebted to their money for it. The bodies of such as were condemned, men and women, were dragged to the gemoniæ, where were likewise brought the heads of those that perished out of Rome. Claudius, however, did not make innocent children suffer for their father's guilt, he not only spared their

Strict enquiries made concerning the revolt. *Dio.*

A.R.793. A. C. 42. lives, but gave several their parent's forfeited estates.

Himself in person judged all these affairs in the senate, assisted by the prætorian præfects; and, which was very shameful in him by his freemen, who were seated next him. Narcissus had on this occasion an excellent lesson given him by one Galesus, a freeman of Camillus's. Galesus wearied out with the questions the other put to him, being asked among other things what he would have done if his master had been made emperor, "I would "have stood behind him, answered he, and "held my tongue."

Death of Arria and Pætus. Remarks on Arria.] Of all that were concerned in the revolt and punishment of Camillus, the most remarkable, less so in itself than for the courage of Arria his wife, is the death of Cecina Pætus, a man of consular dignity. Every one knows the famous action of that Pagan heroine, who, not only encouraged her husband to kill himself, but set him the example, stabbing herself first, and then presenting him the dagger with these words, "Pætus, it does not hurt."

Plin. ep iii. 16. The younger Pliny extols Arria's magnanimity highly, observing that her killing herself was not a sudden start, but what she had long reflected and resolved on; and so far he proves clearly. Arria being present when Junia Camillus's widow was brought before Claudius and declared her readiness to impeach the accomplices. "* And do you deserve "to be believed, said Arria to her, you,

* Ego te audiam, cujus in gremio Scribonianus occisus est, et vivis!

" in whose arms Camillus was killed; and A.R.793.
" you still alive!" Her family mistrusted her A. C. 42.
design: and the illustrious * Thrasea her son-in-law, among other arguments he made use of to dissuade her from it, having said, " What " then? If I was forced to perish, would you " have your daughter die with me? Yes, " answered she, should it happen that she " were to live as long, and in as strict an union " with you, as I have lived with Pætus I would " have it so." This declaration encreased their uneasiness, and they watched her more carefully than ever. She perceived it, and said to the people about her, " You † will gain nothing " by this. You may compel me to die mise- " rably; but to prevent my dying is out of " your power." At the same time starting up from her seat, she ran her head against the wall with such violence, that she dropped down in a swoon. Recovering her senses, " Well ‡, " said she to them, did I not tell you, if you " refused me a gentle death, I would find a " way to die, however violent it might be?"

The following actions of Arria's are truly laudable. Pætus was arrested in Dalmatia, and put on board a ship to be carried to Rome. She begged as a favour the officer, who had care of the prisoner, would suffer her to go in

* Quum Thrasea gener ejus deprecaretur ne mori pergeret, interque alia dixisset, Tu vis ergo filiam tuam, si mihi pereundum fuerit, mori mecum? respondit, si tam diu, tantaque concordia vixerit tecum, quam ego cum Pæto, volo.

† Nihil agitis. Potestis enim efficere ut male moriar: ne moriar, non potestis.

‡ Dixeram vobis inventuram me quamlibet duram ad mortem viam, si facilem negassetis.

A.R.793. A. C. 42. in the same ship. "You* cannot, said she "to him, but allow a man of his rank, a "man of consular dignity, a few slaves to wait "on him at table, and dress him. I will do "all those things myself." Finding she could not prevail, such was her conjugal affection, she hired a fishing-boat, and in that kept close to the ship in which her husband was.

She always had that tender and courageous affection for him; and Pliny gives an instance worthy being proposed here as an example. Pætus, and a son he had, were both dangerously ill at the same time. The son, a young man amiable for his person, sentiments, and modesty, died. Arria let the father know nothing of the death and burial of his son: nay more, when she went into her sick husband's room, she let no signs of grief or sorrow appear in her countenance. Pætus did not fail to enquire after his son. Arria, telling an untruth, it might perhaps be too hard to censure her for on such an occasion, answered he was better. "He slept well, said she, and "has eat pretty heartily." If her tears, too long smothered, were ready to choak her, she withdrew to give them vent, and then would come back with chearful looks, as if she had left her grief behind her.

Such was Arria; and she transmitted her courage and dignity of sentiments to her posterity. Her virtues still shone in her granddaughter Fannia, with whom Pliny was extremely well acquainted.

Claudius

* Nempe enim daturi estis consulari viro, servulos aliquos, quorum e manu cibum capiat, a quibus vestiatur a quibus calciatur: omnia vel sola præstabo.

Claudius prided himself greatly on having stopt and punished Camillus's plots, though it was more owing to his good fortune than any thing else: and as he piqued himself on being a great Grecian, when he was to give out the word to his guards, he gave them on this occasion a line of Homer, the sense of which is, "It is * proper to take revenge on whoever "first declares himself our enemy." A.R.793. A. C. 42.

It is very singular, that Claudius's authority should have been made use of to revenge the death of the officers who assisted Camillus in his revolt. Yet so it was; and Salvius Otho, father of the emperor Otho, being sent to command the army in Dalmatia, ventured to condemn and execute, as guilty of mutiny, the soldiers who had killed their officers, although the emperor had rewarded them for it. Claudius, ever weak, took it patiently, only shewing a little coldness to Otho: and very soon after he took him again quite into favour, on the latter's discovering to him the ill design of a † Roman knight who wanted to assassinate him. The criminal was thrown down the Tarpeian rock by the consuls and tribunes of the people. Soldiers condemned to die for having killed their officers who assisted Camillus. *Suet. Oth.* 1. *Dio.*

Dion Cassius places the punishment of this knight under Claudius's third consulship, in which he took for colleague the famous sycophant Vitellius.

Ti.

* Ἀνδρὶ ἀπαμύνασθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ. *Od.* XVI. 72.

† This may be one of the two events I have mentioned after Suetonius, page 169.

A.R. 794. A.C. 43. TI. CLAUDIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS III.
L. VITELLIUS II.

Claudius is fond of judging, and makes himself contemptible by it. *Suet. Claud.* 14, & 15.

This year Claudius abolished several holidays, there being so many of them, that they interfered with the service of the public, and prevented the dispatch of business. In that he consulted his own taste: for he was very fond of judging, and regularly spent whole days in that employ. In his decisions he did not adhere to the letter of the law; but pretended to be guided by the equity of the case, correcting as he thought proper the too great lenity or severity of the ancient ordinances. So if any lost their cause for want of observing the formalities prescribed, even though they were essential ones, he allowed them to begin again. On the other hand, he would strain the severity of the law, in what punishments he inflicted for fraud in things of any consequence, condemning the guilty to be cast to the wild beasts.

Nothing could be more uncertain than his method of examining and deciding matters. Sometimes he would proceed with the utmost prudence and circumspection: at others he was most inconsiderately rash, and often so stupid, that every one laughed at him. Suetonius gives us instances of each kind.

He praises him for acting sensibly at a review he made of the benches of judges. The function of judge in Rome was a troublesome one, and in some cases the laws granted an exemption from it, as a privilege. One of those that were on the list, being called on in his turn

turn to appear at this review, and not alledging the number of his children, by which he was dispensed from that office, Claudius struck him off, as a man who sought an employment, he ought not to undertake but with reluctance and when obliged to do it. Another, who had a suit depending, being called upon at that instant by his adverse party, answered, they were not pleading then, but he would appear before the judge at a proper time. Claudius obliged him to plead his cause directly before him, "that I may see, said he, by your way "of pleading for yourself, whether you are "capable of judging others." A woman would not acknowledge her own son, Claudius ordered her to marry him, and by that means forced her to own the truth. This judgment has some affinity with that of Solomon, though of a different kind. But to return to Claudius. A.R. 794. A. C. 43.

He almost always decided in favour of those that were present, and condemned the absent, without examining whether they had just cause to alledge for their absence, or not: which made Seneca jokingly say; "Lament * the "death of the cleverest and most expeditious "of judges; who would determine a cause on "hearing one side only, and often without "hearing either." He judged according to the first impression that was made on him. A man, accused of forgery, being brought before him, somebody present chanced to cry out,

* Deflete virum
Quo non alius
Potuit citius
Discere causas.
Una tantum
Parte audita,
Sæpe & neutra.
Sen. Apocolocyn.

A.R.794. A. C. 43. out, he ought to have his hand cut off. Claudius in a great hurry ordered the executioner to be brought directly with his block and hatchet.

His silliness appeared in a thousand shapes. A man was accused of pretending to be a Roman citizen, when in fact he was not. A warm debate arose between the lawyers, whether he should be brought to the bar in a Greek or Roman dress: Claudius, to shew his impartiality, ordered him to change cloaths, according to the personage he was to represent in the course of the pleadings; to be a Greek whilst his accusation was read, and a Roman whilst his counsel was speaking for him. In another cause, wherein the judges opinions were taken in writing, he concluded his with these words, "I am for those who "have the best right."

These things made him appear very contemptible, and people laughed at him openly. Somebody excusing a witness who had been summoned out of the country, said he could not possibly come: Claudius asking why, and repeating the question several times, the other at last answered, "because he died at Puzzola." Another thanked him for giving a person accused leave to make his defence, adding, "though "it be a thing that he is of course intitled to." The lawyers would often try his patience, not only calling aloud after him when he rose from his tribunal, but catching him by the robe, or laying hold of his foot, to prevent his going. A Greek who was pleading before him, after contesting and perfectly quarrelling with him, had the assurance to say to his face, "You are a "silly

"silly old man." In short, a Roman knight being accused by powerful enemies of a most odious debauchery of which he was perfectly innocent, finding women, common prostitutes, were produced as witnesses against him, and their depositions received, upbraided him with his cruelty and stupidity, and threw the papers he had in his hand with a penknife, in Claudius's face, whereby he was slightly wounded in the cheek. A.R.794. A. C. 43.

Such as we have described Claudius in his capacity of judge, such he was in every other thing. His heart was upright enough; he had some glimmerings of natural sense, but circumscribed within a very narrow sphere; and a kind of good instinct, generally stifled by fear, drunkenness or incontinence; and almost always directed by the impressions and impulses of those that were about him, who governed him like a piece of clock-work.

Inconsistency of Claudius's conduct with regard to the rights of Roman citizens, and the dignity of the senator.

His inclination led him to follow Augustus's maxims with regard to the right of being a citizen of Rome; and not to be lavish of that title. Suetonius says, he put some to death for no other crime than usurping the prerogatives of Roman citizens. Such excess of severity seems hardly credible, or it must have been some piece of vengeance of Messalina's: though it must be owned he did some very severe things of that kind of his own accord. A Greek, naturalized a Roman, appearing before the senate on some affair of importance, and not being able to answer the questions that were asked him in Latin, Claudius deprived him of the right of burgessy in a city where he did not understand the language. With much greater *Suet. Claud.* 25. *Dio.*

reason

A.R. 794. A. C. 43. reason did he take it from such as were deemed unworthy of it, either for the lowness of their extraction, or depravity of their morals. He was so strict as to forbid any one's taking a Roman name, if he was not a citizen of Rome.

On the other hand, that same title of Roman citizen, of which he was so jealous, never was so easily obtained as under his reign. Every thing was to be purchased from Messalina and the freemen: and as great prerogatives, and a notable pre-eminence over strangers were annexed to the qualification of citizen of Rome, crowds of purchasers offered at first: but by growing too common, that fine title lost its value, and became of so little estimation, that railers would say out of a joke, one might buy it for a bit of broken glass.

Claudius's conduct was equally inconsistent in what concerned the senatorial dignity. By his oath he had promised not to admit any into that body, whose predecessors for five generations had not been Roman citizens: yet he made the son of a freeman a senator, only requiring him to be adopted by a knight.

Some laudable things. *Dio.*

Dion Cassius mentions some laudable actions of his during his third consulship. He obliged those, to whom his predecessor had given immense sums out of mere caprice and prodigality, to refund what they had received unmerited. On the other hand, he returned to the undertakers of the high-ways, the sums Corbulo, under Caius's authority, had unjustly exacted from them. It had been customary, even in the republican times, for new made citizens to take the name of the patron to whom

whom they were indebted for that honourable qualification. Besides that, it was grown a custom under the emperors, that whoever received a favour of any kind, was to leave them, by will, a part at least of what they were worth. Under colour of this double pretence, wretches of informers plagued and harrassed those that had been made citizens by Caligula, or their heirs. Claudius forbid all odious vexations of that kind, declaring he would suffer no suit to be commenced against any one for that cause. He was not fond of money, as I have elsewhere observed. A.R.794. A. C. 43.

I shall mention here sundry regulations or remarkable deeds of Claudius's, collected by Suetonius, without date, as is his custom, and which I think ought not to be omitted. Sundry regulations and customs of Claudius. *Suet. Claud.* 22—25.

Though it be not said any where that he proposed Augustus as his model (and certainly he was very unequal to the task of copying him) yet I think I observe in the steps Claudius took, an attempt to follow the traces of that great emperor. For that reason he was attached, as Augustus had been, to the old religious ceremonies. He observed them punctually, and revived some that had been disused. *Tac.* xi. 15

Like him, his maxim was to encourage marriages, and allure the citizens to it. One day, before a full house, giving a gladiator leave, at the request of his four sons, to leave off that profession, and every one applauding the deed, he sent billets round the assembly, exhorting them all to observe how much they ought to wish for children, and to bring their up *Suet. Claud.* 21.

A.R. 794. A. C. 43. up, since they saw what service it was of even to a gladiator.

Suet. Claud. 22, 25. He reformed the profession of the law in some points. Vexed at those who, not sensible of the honour and value of the senatorial dignity, refused it when offered, he degraded them even from the rank of knights. Such freemen as had the insolence to want to be made knights, had their estates forfeited, whilst he suffered his own to rise to a degree of power and credit beyond even the consuls. If freemen were convicted of ingratitude towards their patrons, he reduced them to their primitive state of servitude.

Dio. What probably occasioned such rigour, was a thing Dion Cassius mentions in the year wherein Valerius Asiaticus was a second time consul with M. Silanus. A freeman had the assurance to accuse his patron before a tribune of the people, and to desire an usher might be sent to force him to appear. The tribune granted it: but Claudius hearing of the affair, flew in such a passion, that he ordered the freeman to be punished, (Dion Cassius does not say what punishment) declaring to those who had taken his part, and spirited him up, that if ever they should chance to have any complaints to make against their freemen, he would not receive their petitions, nor do them justice.

Dio.

Yet he did not authorize or encourage masters to use their slaves too roughly: on the contrary, he made a very wise and humane law on that occasion. It was customary for masters to expose their sick slaves in the island of Esculapius, to save the trouble and expence of

of having them cured. Claudius, enacted, that those slaves should have their freedom if they recovered; adding, that if their masters chose to kill, rather than expose them, they should be prosecuted for murder. A.R.794. A. C. 43.

To prevent and stop fires in Ostia and Puzzola, he quartered a cohort in each of those towns. He was, with great reason, shocked at the Druids sacrificing human victims. Augustus went no farther than forbidding the Roman citizens to practise it. Claudius forbid it absolutely; though he could not totally abolish it. In consequence of the same way of thinking, he attempted, though in vain, to introduce the mysteries of Ceres Eleusina in Rome, because they were peaceable and social rites. The temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily had been long decaying and going to ruin: Tiberius undertook to rebuild that famous edifice: but * his usual slowness and negligence prevailing, it still remained in the same shattered condition. Claudius procured a decree of the senate, ordering the charge of rebuilding it to be paid out of the public treasure. *Tac. lv. ann. 43.*

The order of time brings us back to the most brilliant part of Claudius's reign; I mean the conquest of a part of Britain. But before we enter on that, I must take notice of some things, most of which preceded that expedition. The Lycians deprived of their liberty. *Suet. Claud. 25. & Dio.*

The Lycians were at that time a free people, and governed by their own laws; but dividing into factions and seditions, in which some Roman citizens were killed, Claudius deprived

* This is only my conjecture, in order to reconcile Suetonius and Tacitus.

A.R.794. A. C. 43. prived them of their liberty, and united their country to the province of Pamphylonia.

Dearth in Rome occasioned by Messalina and the freemen. *Dio.*

Messalina, and the freemen, studying only how they might plunder by any possible means, extended their rapacious views to the necessaries of life, which, by their management, became very scarce, and consequently very dear in Rome. Claudius was forced to set a price on them himself, and to publish it in an assembly of the people held in the Campus Martius.

Messalina's abominable lewdness.

At the same time that Messalina was corrupting every part of the state, by selling employments, posts of command, and governments of provinces, she gave a loose to the most excessive debaucheries, into which she enticed ladies of the greatest distinction. If their husbands bore their dishonour patiently, and consented to her desires, she rewarded and promoted them. But death was the certain salary of the least resistance to her will.

Claudius was ignorant of what was doing openly in his own palace. She amused him, by furnishing him herself with concubines; and whoever was suspected by her of wanting to give the emperor any intelligence, was sure to die. Justus Catonius, prætect of the prætorian cohorts, fell a victim to her suspicions of that kind.

She held Claudius in such contempt, that she would use his name and authority to facilitate the very intrigues by which she dishonoured him. The pantomime, Mnester, of whom we have spoken in Caius's life, fearing the consequences of a criminal commerce with the empress, she managed so as to make Claudius

Claudius himself order her to obey her in all her commands. A. R. 794. A. C. 43.

Her jealousy was carried to a pitch of fury, and had already caused the death of Julia, daughter of Germanicus. Another Julia, daughter of Drusus, son of Tiberius, and first married to Nero, eldest son of the same Germanicus, met the like fate. The reader may remember that young princess was concerned in Sejanus's and her mother Livia's plots against her husband. Messalina's wickedness, and her uncle Claudius's stupidity, brought down on her the punishment she merited for that crime. What we know of it is, that she was put to death; the particularities of the event are lost to us: we can only say, that of the two Julia's just mentioned, one perished by the sword, the other was starved to death. Death of Julia, daughter to Drusus, son of Tiberius. *Suet. Claud. 29. & Dio.*

Agrippina, the only surviving * princess of the blood of the Claudii, less lewd than Messalina, but in other respects equally wicked, could not then shew openly the atrocity of her disposition, because she was only in a private station. She tried however, secretly, what crimes she could be capable of doing. It was about this time that she poisoned Crispus Passianus, her second husband, a celebrated orator, and who had been twice consul. He was probably the son of one Passianus mentioned by Vellcius, as having merited the honours of triumph under Augustus in Africa, and who seems to be the same with L. Passianus Rufus, consul in the year of Rome 748. This Passianus became illustrious by the talents of his mind. *Sen. Apocol.* Death of Passianus procured by his wife Agrippina. Particulars relative to that event. *Dio. lib. lx. Vell. lib. ii.*

* I do not reckon Antonia and Octavia, the reigning emperor's daughters.

A.R.794. A. C. 43. mind. He pleaded with singular applause, nor was he ever taxed with prostituting his eloquence in the cause of infamy, or making it meanly subservient to tyranny. He was fond of a joke. We have already mentioned his definition of Caius. He used to say of Claudius compared to Augustus, "I * had rather "have Augustus's esteem, but Claudius's re-"wards;" for Claudius knew neither bounds nor judgment in giving.

He was mild and good-natured, as appears from an instance recorded by Quintilian. Pleading for his wife Domitia against her brother Ahænobarbus, in the preamble to his discourse he reminded them of the sentiments of concord and friendship they ought naturally to have for each other: and, as the dispute was about a sum of money, he represented to them, that they were both very rich: "What † you "are contending for, said he to them, is of "all things that which you want the least."

Plin. xvi. 43. His mildness indeed sometimes bordered on effeminacy. Pliny says, Passienus fell in love with a fine tree, that he embraced it, kissed it, lay under the shadow of its branches, and poured wine on its roots.

In each of his marriages his alliance was noble. His first wife was Domitia, Nero's aunt; his second Agrippina, mother of that prince.

He was extremely rich: an ancient author reckons he was worth two hundred millions of sesterces (upwards of a million and a half.) He was imprudent enough to make his will, and name Agrippina

* Malo divi Augusti judicium; quam do Claudi beneficium. *Sen. de Benef.* i. 15.

† Nihil vobis minus deest, quam de quo contenditis *Quintil Instit. Or.* vi. 1

Agrippina his heiress: and that covetous cruel wife, the sooner to come at so large a sum, poisoned her husband. He was honoured with a public funeral. A. R. 794. A. C. 43.

I come now to Claudius's expedition against Britain, which I shall begin by a short description of that island, then so weak and little known, now so potent and renowned. I shall collect the most essential parts of what little is said of it by Cæsar, Strabo, and Tacitus. The reader may not be displeased at a comparison of its ancient poverty and barbarity, with its present state. Part of Britain conquered.

SECT. II.

A short description of Britain. Its situation not known to most of the ancients. Inhabited by various nations. Manners of the people. Tin trade. Their manner of fighting. Their government. The Britons in vain invaded by Cæsar, sees no more Roman armies in their island till Claudius's time. Plautius sent by Claudius with an army into Britain. Claudius goes to Britain himself, stays there but sixteen days, and then returns to Rome. Claudius's triumph. Part of Britain made a Roman province. Particular events. Alteration made in the manner of taking the annual oath. Regulations made or revived by Claudius. Votive games. Liberalities to the people. A fifth day added to the Saturnalia. Eclipse of the sun. Asiaticus appointed consul for the whole year, abdicates before the time. Vinicius dies poisoned by Messalina. Asinius Gallus conspires against the emperor and is banished. Thrace becomes a

Roman province. A new island appears in the Ægean Sea. Claudius censor with Vitellius. Vitellius's abject flattery. Claudius's operations in his Censorship. Several persons accused of conspiracy. Pompeius Magnus, son-in-law to Claudius, put to death with his father and mother. Condemnation and death of Valerius Asiaticus. Complaints against the Lawyers. Regulation fixing their salaries. Secular games. Domitius, afterwards called Nero, the peoples darling. Messalina's outrageous love of Silius. Claudius busies himself in the functions of censor. Three new letters added to the alphabet. Commotions in the East, and in Germany. Italus king of the Cherusci. Incursions of the Cauci into Lower Germany. Curbulo's exploits. Claudius checks that general's activity. Canal between the Rhine and the Maese. Curtius Rufus obtains the ornaments of triumph. Perhaps he is the same with Quintius Curtius. His fortune. Plautius's ovation. Claudius is in danger of being assassinated. The Quæstors obliged to give a combat of gladiators. Vitellius's two sons consuls the same year. The Gauls admitted into the senate, and to the dignities of the empire. A fragment of Claudius's speech on that occasion. Reflections on that regulation. The Eduans are the first Gauls who enjoy that prerogative. New Patrician families. The emperor Otho's father made a Patrician. Regard shewn the senators that were struck off the list. The lustre closed.

I SHALL not trouble my readers with a dissertation on the supposed etymologies of

of the names *Albion* and *Britain*, by which the island of Great Britain or England, was anciently called; many authors, to whom I refer, having treated that subject copiously: a repetition of which would in a great measure be foreign to the purport of this work. I shall only observe, that the ancient Latin writers, my chief authorities in the compilation of this history, always call it *Britain*. Its true situation was so little known to the ancients, that most of them thought it lay due * west of Spain. They hardly knew it was an island: and though some of them, who were best informed, as Cæsar, Strabo, and Pomponius Mela, speak of it positively as such, yet the Romans in general thought it a matter of doubt, till Agricolas's fleet sailed round it in Vespasian's reign. It would be as needless to copy here what they have said of the climate and produce of the country.

A short description of Britain.

Its situation not known to most of the ancients.

Cæs. de B. G. v. 12, 14. *Strabo. l.* iv. *Tac. Agr.* 10—12.

Britain was very populous, at the time I am speaking of, being inhabited by various nations of different origins, and distinct from each other. Those that dwelt towards the centre of the island, said the earth was their parent; meaning they were descended from the oldest inhabitants of the country, from times so remote, that their first origin could not be traced. Tacitus is of opinion, the Caledonians, who lived in the most northern parts, were originally a colony of Germans; their extraordinary size and fair hair are his reasons for thinking so. In the Silures he finds a resemblance of the Spaniards, on account of their swarthy com-

Inhabited by various nations.

* Strabo *l.* II. *p.* 120. speaks more precisely, when he says the most western point of Britain lies north of Spain.

complexion and natural curled hair, as well as the country they inhabited on the borders of the Severn, the nearest to Spain of any part of the island. The Britons next Gaul were like the Gauls. Cæsar says, the whole coast on that side was full of transmigrated Gauls, who still retained the names of the nations of which they were colonies. Tacitus adds other circumstances, in which they resembled, the same religious ceremonies, and the same attachment to their superstitious opinions: a great affinity in their languages, and the same boldness to encounter danger when remote, and fearfulness when actually engaged: with this only difference, according to him, that the Britons were most courageous, because they had not yet been enervated, as the Gauls were, by a long series of peace.

Manners of the people.

Supposing Britain to have been inhabited by people of different origins, we must naturally admit likewise a diversity of manners. But the Greek and Roman authors were not sufficiently acquainted with the country, to be able to give an account of those particulars. They tell us in general, that the Britons were a simple, rustic, uncultivated people. They have milk, says Strabo, yet such is the ignorance of many of them, that they do not know how to make cheese. They are utter strangers to gardening, and some have no notion even of any branch of agriculture. Cæsar too says, that those who inhabited the inland parts sowed no corn, but lived on milk, the flesh of their own cattle, and what they killed in hunting, hares excepted, which, for some superstitious reason, they would not eat; nor did they think it lawful

ful for them to eat chickens or geese, though they bred them for their pleasure. Their dress, as simple as their manners, was the skins of beasts: their towns, consisting of a number of huts, to which they fled pel-mel with their cattle, when invaded by an enemy, were great inclosures surrounded by hedges and ditches in the midst of forests. Their usual habitations might be more commodious and less savage. Cæsar says their buildings were like those of the Gauls: he accuses them of having no idea of natural pudicity in their marriages: they live, says he, ten or twelve men in common together, brothers, fathers, or children, with as many or more wives, and whatever children are born belong to him who married the mother whilst a virgin. Strabo says nearly the same of the Hibernians.

The Britons were so poor in Cæsar's time, that they had no other kind of money but copper and iron: Cicero too in his letters says silver and gold were not to be found among them: yet Strabo and Tacitus both say there were mines of those metals in the island. The Cornish tin was at that time the chief commerce of Britain: that branch of trade is very old, and was a long time carried on by the Phœnicians only. We are told, they fetched tin from the Cassiterid * islands, which probably was Cornwall; by the uninformed ancients thought surrounded by the sea. They were so solicitous to keep that trade entirely to themselves, that Strabo says, a Phœnician pilot

Cic. ad F. a. VII. 7.

Tin trade.

* So called from the Greek word κασσιτερος, which signifies *Tin*.

pilot, seeing a Roman ship following him to find out the course he steered for the Cassiterids, ran purposely on some sands he was acquainted with to entice the Roman to follow him, who accordingly was lost; but the Phœnician got off again, and on his return home was amply rewarded by the state.

Their manner of fighting.

In the history of the Roman republic I have spoken of the Britons manner of fighting, and of their chariots for war. Their chief strength lay in their infantry. When they went to battle they painted their bodies of a dark blue, thinking that made them appear more terrible to the enemy. The women did the same by way of ornament. The men let their hair grow long, but shaved the rest of their bodies except the upper lip.

Their government.

Their government had been changed in Tacitus's time. After having had kings a long time, who probably were not very despotic, a kind of aristocracy had been introduced, which served only to divide their forces among several chiefs, and to prevent their uniting together; and that, says Tacitus *, is always our main resource against powerful and warlike nations. They cannot agree among themselves: even two or three will seldom join to repel a common danger; but entering into a war one after another, they are all conquered at last with ease.

Cæsar was the first Roman that passed into Britain at the head of an army. In the history

* Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus. Ita dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.

history of the republic I have given an account of what himself says of that expedition, in which his exploits were not great, and served rather to make * the Britons known to the Romans, than subject to them. The civil wars ensued after that, and the leading men of the republic were busied in destroying each other. Augustus becoming sole master of the empire, thought twice of prosecuting his great uncle's designs against Britain, or at least to make the Britons fear and respect the Roman name: and so far he succeeded. The kings and nations of that great island, at least such of them as were nearest Gaul, sent ambassadors to do homage to him, and submitted to pay a duty on all commodities exported from their country to Gaul, or imported from thence.

The Britons in vain invaded by Cæsar, see no more Roman armies in their country till Claudius's time. *Strabo. Tac.*

Augustus went no farther; and Tiberius, consulting only his own ease and quiet, followed his example. Strabo, who wrote in that emperor's reign, endeavours to justify the Romans disdaining a conquest that could be of no service to them. Of what advantage could it be to them, says he, to reckon such poor miserable people among their subjects? the duties arising from the trade between Gaul and Britain amount to more than they could get from that country were they masters of it, not to mention what it would cost to maintain the troops they would be forced to keep in the island. *Strabo. l. ii. p. 115. & l. iv. p. 200.*

Caligula's designs on Britain ended, as we have seen, in picking up a parcel of shells. It

Ta.

W S

* Potest videri o tendisse posteris, [illegible]
Agr. 14

A.R.794. A.C. 43. was under Claudius that the Romans gained the first considerable footing there. That prince, incapable of being influenced by the political reasons that had withheld Augustus, most probably flattered himself with pompous ideas of surmounting the barrier of the ocean, of * subjecting to the Roman dominion a people till then free and independant, and of being called the conqueror of nations, not only unsubdued but even unknown before him. He therefore took the opportunity offered him by one Vericus, who being driven from the island by a contrary faction, implored his protection to restore him. Claudius ordered A. Plautius into Britain with the legions under his command.

Dio.

Plautius sent by Claudius with an army into Britain.

The Roman soldiers were not easily persuaded to go into another world; for such they thought the country they were to be carried to. The freeman Narcissus, thinking to conquer their resistance to the commands of their general, who was of consular dignity, had the insolence to go to their camp, and mount Plautius's tribunal with an intent to harangue them. Far from hearing him, they directly cried out, *To the Saturnalia with him;* meaning to upbraid him with his having been formerly a slave: indignation produced what a sense of their duty had not been able to do, and they told their general they were ready to follow him.

Plautius accordingly crossed over; but such is Dion Cassius's exactness, or at least his abbreviator's,

* Tandem clausam (Britanniam) aperit ecce principum maximus, non indomitarum modo ante se, verùm ignotarum quoque gentium victor. *Pomp. Mela.* III. 6.

breviator's, that he does not tell us from what port of Gaul he set sail, nor in what part of the island he landed. We may reasonably conjecture he followed Cæsar's route; that he embarked at the port of * Itius and its neighbourhood, and landed in the county of Kent. His army was divided into three bodies, to avoid the confusion attending too great a number, and to keep the Britons in doubt where he purposed to make his descent. This precaution was needless with regard to them; they were not at all on their guard, and Plautius landed without the least opposition. A. R. 94. A. C. 43.

* Witsan.

The barbarians, affrighted, immediately fled to their woods and bogs, where the Romans were obliged to follow to fight them. At last they joined, and the Romans conquered Caractacus and Trogodumnus, both sons of Cynobellinus, of whom we have spoken in Caligula's life. The Britons were not disheartened: they hoped Plautius's expedition would end as Cæsar's had done, and that a vigorous resistance would baffle all his efforts, and force him to leave their island. They did not consider how much the circumstances of things were altered, nor that the Romans, being then in peaceable possession of Gaul, could take their own time to conquer them. The Britons, worsted in several engagements, were forced to give way, and Plautius, pursuing his advantage, arrived at the mouth of the Thames.

There he was checked and stopt, being likewise under a necessity of waiting for Claudius, who intended to come in person and put himself at the head of his army, in case the beginnings of the war promised good success. He had

Claudius goes to Britain himself: stays there but sixteen days, and then returns to Rome

A.R.794. A. C. 43. *Suet. Claud.* 17. & *Dio.* had never seen a war: and wanted a triumph in form, thinking the triumphal honours that had been decreed him by the senate, for the advantage his lieutenants had gained, too common, and beneath imperial dignity.

On the news of Plautius's success, he set out from Rome, leaving the administration of the empire to Vitellius his colleague in the consulship. He embarked at Ostia, landed at Marseilles, and crossing Gaul, took shipping again at Gessoriacum*, from whence he arrived in Britain, and joined his army on the borders of the Thames.

* *Boulogne*

Dion Cassius says, he passed that river, gained a victory over the barbarians, and took Camolodunum*, where Cynobellinus resided. On the contrary, according to Suetonius, Claudius was entirely taken up, during his stay in Britain, with receiving the homage and submission of the conquered nations: he did not fight even the least skirmish, nor was there a drop shed of the enemy's blood. I should be most inclined to believe Suetonius. Dion Cassius probably ascribed to Claudius what was done by his lieutenant Plautius. What is very certain is, that the emperor made no long stay in the island: he was there but sixteen days, after which he returned to Rome.

He was so proud of his expedition, that he caused the legions to proclaim him several times *Imperator*, or victorious, general, though the custom had always been, one example of Caligula's to the contrary excepted, to take that title but once for the whole success of one and the

* Maldon, according to Camden: but others think it was a town about a mile west of Walden in Essex

the same war. He dispatched his two sons-in-law, Magnus and Silanus, to carry the news of his conquests to Rome, and the senate lavished on him all kinds of honours that could be imagined, a triumph, the surname of Britannicus to him and his son; two triumphal arches, one in Rome, the other in Gaul, on the spot where he embarked for Britain, and an annual festival to immortalize the memory of his exploits. All the honorary prerogatives that Livia, Tiberius's mother, had enjoyed, were likewise granted Messalina on this occasion. A.R.794. A.C. 43.

Claudius returned to Rome by the Po, from which river he entered the Adriatic sea, in a ship, which Pliny says, might more properly have been called a floating-house. He was six months absent in the whole, and arrived at Rome towards the beginning of Crispinus and Taurus's consulship. *Plin.* III. 16.

L. Quintius Crispinus II. A.R.795
M. Statilius Taurus. A.C. 44.

Claudius's triumph was celebrated with all possible magnificence. Wondering himself how he could attain such a pitch of glory, he spared nothing that could contribute to its splendour; and permitted governors of provinces, and even persons under sentence of banishment to come to see it. He likewise would have all that had obtained the ornaments of triumph in that war, accompany his car. There were many of them; for Claudius's easy temper made him grant those honorary rewards for very trifles, to such as were only Claudius's triumph. *Suet. Claud.* 17. & *Dk.*

senators

A. R. 795. A. C. 44. senators, and even to young Silanus, destined to be his son-in-law, who was hardly past his infancy. This brilliant retinue followed the triumphal car on foot: one only distinguished from the rest, because that was the second time of his being decked with those illustrious ornaments, rode a horse with superb trappings, and was covered with a robe embroidered with palms. That was Crassus Frugi, father-in-law to Antonia, Claudius's daughter. Messalina too, in a splendid equipage, followed the car of the husband she covered with shame. All the ceremonies belonging to a triumph were punctually observed; and Claudius, supported and assisted by his two sons-in-law, ascended the steps of the capitol on his knees.

Suet. Claud. 24.

Dio.

The following days were distinguished by all sorts of rejoicings, chariot races in the circus, wrestling matches, hunting of bears, military dances performed by young people brought on purpose out of Asia, plays and other entertainments. And finally to perpetuate the memory of his triumph over the ocean, which he pretended to have subdued, Claudius caused a naval crown to be placed with the civic, over the front of the imperial palace.

Suet. Claud. 17.

Whilst Claudius was celebrating his victory over the Britons with so much pomp and shew, the Britons were not yet conquered: they still defended their liberty, and maintained war against Plautius, who was left behind in the country with a powerful army. Vespasian, who commanded a legion, distinguished himself greatly in that war. He fought the enemy thirty times, took twenty towns, subdued two of the British nations, and possessed himself

Part of Britain made a Roman province. *Dio.*

Suet. Vesp. 4.

self of the isle of Wight, for which he was rewarded with the ornaments of triumph, and that was the first * step towards the great elevation he afterwards attained. Plautius was four years extending and securing his conquests. He subdued nations, made treaties with them, and that they might put faith and confidence in him, the senate passed a decree ordaining that all treaties made by Claudius or his lieutenants should be of the same force and virtue as if made with the authority of the senate and people. Thus a great part of the country south and north of the Thames was reduced into a Roman province. Plautius, on his return to Rome in Claudius's fourth consulship, received the honour of ovation, a distinction no private man had ever before enjoyed, and of which I believe we shall not find another instance under the emperors. During the whole ceremony, Claudius accompanied him, and gave him the right hand. A.R.795. A. C. 44. *Dio.* *Tac. Ann.* 1. 12. *Suet. Claud.* 24.

I was willing to go at once through what little Suetonius and Dion Cassius have left us relating to the Romans first conquests in Britain. In its proper time we shall find a more ample account of what followed in Tacitus.

What transactions Dion Cassius relates during the consulship of Crispinus and Taurus, are but few, and of little importance. Claudius gave Rubrius Pollio, his pretorian prefect, a right to sit in the senate when he should accompany the emperor thither: alledging for it the authority of Augustus, who, he said, had done the same before for Valerius Lig- *Dio.*

ur.

* Monstratus fatis Vespasianus *Tac. Ann.* 1.

A.R.795. A.C. 44. He granted Laco, commander of the city watch under Tiberius, and at that time superintendant of the prince's revenues in Gaul, the same prerogative. He likewise gave him the consular ornaments; and, according to Suetonius, was so prodigal of those high marks of distinction, that he bestowed them even on intendants of a lower class.

Suet. Claud. 24. Dio.

He restored the administration of the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia to the senate, Tiberius having taken it from them.

He enlarged the kingdom of Cottius, a petty prince settled at Susa in the Alps, and in alliance with the Romans. Cottius, buried in obscurity, and protected by the inaccessible height of his mountains, had not yet submitted to their yoke. Conceiving however how impossible it would be for him to maintain himself in a state of independance on so formidable a power, he sought Augustus's friendship, which was granted him, and took even his name, calling himself Julius Cottius. In a little state that prince had great views. He did surprising things to make the Alps passable in the small country over which he reigned. He governed his subjects with wisdom, and made them enjoy peace and tranquillity under the protection of the Romans. Claudius at the same time that he enlarged his dominions, gave him the title of king. On his death, Nero united that territory to the empire: but the memory of that good prince lived long in the country where he reigned. They shewed his tomb at Susa, with great veneration, in Ammianus Marcellinus's time. The Cottian Alps, famous in antiquity, were so called from him.

Amm. Marc. l. xv.

Suet. Ner. 18.

Claudius

Claudius deprived the Rhodians of their liberty, of which they had made so ill a use as to crucify some Roman citizens. He restored it them afterwards as we shall observe, but not till he had made them suffer several years for their insolence. A.R. 799. A. C. 45. Dio.

One Umbonius Silo was rash enough to bid defiance to Claudius's freemen. He had incurred their hatred whilst proconsul of Bœtica. They had him recalled, under pretence that he had not furnished the Roman troops quartered in Mauritania with sufficient supplies of corn; and even prevailed on Claudius to expel him the senate. Umbonius, to shew how little he valued the dignity they stripped him of, put his senator's robe up to public sale. It is not said that he was punished any farther.

M. Vinicius, who had been husband to Julia daughter of Germanicus, put to death by Claudius, was notwithstanding named consul for the year following by that emperor. That was his second consulship, in which Statilius Corvinus was his colleague.

M. Vinicius II.	A.R. 796
M. Statilius Taurus Corvinus.	A. C. 45.

This year again affords few events.

Alteration made in the manner of taking the yearly oath.

Claudius changed the order settled in the last years of Tiberius, relating to the manner in which senators took the annual oath. He would not have each senator repeat the whole formulary, but a prætor did it in the name of all his college, a tribune for all the tribunes, and so of each of the other orders of which the senate was composed. Himself swore, Dio.

A.R.796. A. C. 45. according to custom, the observation of Augustus's institutions.

Regulations made or revived by Claudius.

He put a stop to the liberties private persons took of erecting to themselves as many statues as they pleased. The city was full of them, and every square quite crowded. Claudius ordered those that were already set up to be carried to different places; and forbid any private person doing himself that honour for the future without the senate's leave, unless he had built some public edifice, in which case he might, if he pleased, have himself and family represented either in painting, or sculpture.

Claudius endeavoured to remedy another abuse of much greater importance, and much more difficult to extirpate. Having passed sentence on a magistrate for extortion and misapplication of the public money, he revived on that occasion the ancient ordinances, by which all persons were forbid stepping immediately out of one employment into another. He would have the magistrates, when their office expired, remain some time in the condition of private men, that those whom they had oppressed or done any injury to might have an opportunity of prosecuting them for it: and that they might not elude the punishment they deserved, by absence, he likewise forbid their taking long journies. In short, he included in his ordinance, not only those that commanded in chief, but likewise their lieutenants and deputies, subjecting them all equally to the same necessity of letting a space of time intervene before they could possess any other public post.

It

It was probably to enable him to see this regulation the better executed, so far as related to journies taken by senators, that he caused a decree to be made, giving him power to grant or refuse them leave of absence, for which the senate used till then to be applied to, as in the times of the republic. A.R.796. A. C. 45. *Suet. Claud.* 23. & *Dio.*

Claudius had vowed games for his expedition into Britain. He performed it this year, adding considerable gratuities to the people. Such citizens as were entitled to the distributions of corn regularly made by the state received from him, some three * hundred, and others as far as twelve † hundred and fifty sesterces a man. Votive games. Liberalities to the people. * 48 *s.* † 10 *l.*

Dion Cassius observes that Claudius did not preside himself over the whole distribution of that money: he began it in person, and left his sons-in-law to finish it, that it might not break in upon his favourite function of judging.

Not to omit any thing, I shall mention here Claudius's restoring the fifth day, first added by Caligula, to the Saturnalia, and afterwards abolished. This year there was an eclipse of the sun on the first of August, Claudius's birth-day. To prevent the superstitious vulgar drawing from thence any inauspicious omens concerning him, he caused notice to be posted up some time before, when it would happen, with a physical explanation of the phænomenon. A fifth day added to the Saturnalia. Eclipse of the sun.

The consuls for the following year were two men of most illustrious distinction: Valerius Asiaticus, who, having been already consul under Tiberius or Caius, had that high

A.R.796. A. C. 45. post given him a second time by Claudius, probably as a reward for the services Tacitus informs us he did in the expedition against Britain: and M. Silanus, brother to L. Silanus, son-in-law to Claudius, and grandson of a granddaughter to Augustus, in whose lifetime he was born.

Tac. xi. ann. 8. Plin. viii. 13.

VALERIUS ASIATICUS II.
M. JUNIUS SILANUS.

A.R.797. A. C. 46.

Asiaticus, appointed consul for the whole year, abdicates before the time.

According to Dion Cassius, Asiaticus was appointed consul for the whole year, but not chusing to enjoy that extraordinary distinction, abdicated before the time, to avoid encreasing the envy to which he knew his great riches already exposed him too much. The same historian assures us, that others at that time, besides Asiaticus, appointed consuls for a whole year, like him, resigned before the expiration of that time, though for a contrary reason. Their fortunes were too small for the vast expences the consulship required.

Dio.

Vinicius dies poisoned by Messalina.

Vinicius, who was consul the preceding year, fell a victim to Messalina in this. He was a man of a mild disposition, wholly taken up with the care of his own private concerns, and incapable of disturbing the state in any shape. But he would not yield to Messalina's lewd desires, for which she poisoned him. The honour of a public funeral was granted him, for that could not hurt his enemy.

Asinius Gallus conspires against the emperor, and is banished.

Asinius Gallus, grandson to Agrippa by his mother Vipsania, and half-brother to Drusus son of Tiberius, set on foot a conspiracy with a design to raise himself to the empire. Those who

who have least merit are most apt to pride themselves on their birth. Asinius Gallus was little, ill made, void of parts or talents; and yet thought every thing due to the great names of those from whom he was descended: and without forces or money, imagined the citizens would fly to him, and acknowledge him their emperor the moment he should give the signal. The plot was discovered, and his folly saved him. An enterprize so ill concerted, plainly appeared the effect of a distempered brain. Claudius held him in too great contempt to put him to death, and only banished him. A.R.797. A. C. 46. *Suet. Claud.* 13. & *Dio.*

Thrace, which hitherto had had its own kings, became this year a Roman province. We have seen how, under Tiberius, it was divided between Rhymetacles, and the children of Cotys, of which one only, likewise called Cotys, is known in history. Caius gave Rhymetacles Cotys's share; and by way of amends, made Cotys king of the Lesser Armenia. Rhymetacles having been killed by his wife, it is probable the Romans took that opportunity to possess themselves of the country, under pretence of avenging that crime. Thrace becomes a Roman province. *Tillemont. Dio. l.* LIX.

A new * island appeared in the Ægean Sea near the isles of Thæra and Therasia. We have spoken of a phænomena of that kind under Tiberius in the year of Rome 768. An island appears in the Ægean sea.

Claudius

* M. de Tillemont says, Seneca calls this new island *Therasia*, which would be an unpardonable error, since Strabo, who wrote under Tiberius, speaks of Therasia A small amendment of Gronovius's, authorised by manuscripts, clears Seneca from that imputation. That learned critic says we should read *Theren, Thracium, et hanc nostræ ætatis insulam.* *Nat. Quæst.* VI. 21.

A.R.797. A. C. 46. Claudius desiring a fourth consulship, took Vitellius for his colleague, who by that means was a third time consul.

Sen. nat. Quæst. II. 26. & VI. 21. *Euseb. Chron. & Dio. l.* LX.

TI. CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS IV.
L. VITELIUS III.

A.R.798. A. C. 47.

Claudius censor with Vitellius.

The republic had had no censor since Paulus and Plancus, who bore that title under Augustus with little honour and as little success. The emperors performed the functions of censors, in quality of inspectors over the manners and customs. They named the senators and Roman knights: and as to the other functions of that office, which consisted in taking an account of the number of citizens and what they possessed, that seemed to have been entirely laid aside since the death of Augustus. Claudius in his fourth consulship revived it, took it on himself, and made Vitellius, already his colleague in the consulship, his associate in that too.

Plin. X. 2.

Vitellius's abject flattery. *Suet. Vit.* 7

This prodigious rise of Vitellius was the reward of his mean adulation towards Messalina and the freemen. Not content to obey implicitly every will of theirs, he prostituted his respects and submission to them in the lowest and most servile manner. He one day begged as a favour Messalina would suffer him to take off her shoes; which being granted, he put the shoe of the right foot between his toga and tunica, kept it, and wore it always about him, pulling it out from time to time to kiss as a most precious pledge. Among his domestic gods, were the images of Narcissus and Pallas:

He

he did not mind how ridiculous these absurdities made him, provided they did but please and flatter. Claudius celebrated this year, as we shall soon observe, the secular games. "May you often celebrate this festival!" said Vitellius to him. To so low a state did ambition reduce a man, who wanted neither sense nor talents. A.R.798. A. C.47.

Claudius, in quality of censor, drew up a list of the senate, and excluded some, most of whom retired voluntarily on account of the great expences attending the dignity of senator. On the other hand, he forced one Surdonius Gallus, who has gone to settle at Carthage, to be a member of the senate. Claudius sent for him, telling him, "I will bind you here with "a chain of gold:" and named him senator. Claudius's operations in his censorship. *Dio.*

In the review he made of the knights, and in general in all he did as censor, Suetonius observes the same vicissitude of good sense and folly, that influenced his whole conduct. Having set a mark of ignominy over-against the name of a knight, and the knight's friends interceding for him, he consented to scratch it out; "but, said he, still * I would have "the erasement appear." There is something very sensible in this mixture of indulgence and severity.

On other occasions he was excessively indolent and relaxed. A young man being convicted of several disorderly actions, and his father excusing and even praising him for them, Claudius would inflict no punishment on him, saying, "He had a censor of his own." A professed debauchee, notorious throughout the whole *Suet. Claud.* 16.

* Litura tamen exstet.

A.R. 798. A. C. 47. whole city for his adulteries, received no other rebuke from him, than desiring him to take more care of his health, or at least to be more circumspect: "For, added he, what necessity "is there to let me know who is your mis-"tress?"

On the other hand, he branded several citizens for very trivial causes, that till then had never met with any severity from the censors; such as going out of Italy without his leave, or entering into the retinue or service of a king in any Roman provinces. Some to his shame, plainly refuted what he accuses them of, and proved his informations false and groundless. Men whom he taxed with being single, poor, or having no children, proved themselves married, rich, and fathers of families. He accused one of having out of rage and despair attempted his own life, and wounded himself with a sword. The person accused stripped in his presence, and shewed there was no wound all over his body.

He would not suffer any one from whom he required an account of his conduct, to have advocates to plead for him; but would have every man speak for himself, and explain his case as well as he could. In that he was very right, considering the censors did not proceed judicially, and that there were no forms of law to be observed, or knotty points to be discussed in what was brought before them.

Nor ought he to be deprived of the praises justly due to his zeal and endeavours to suppress luxury: with that view he bought, and ordered to be broke to pieces, a silver couch of curious workmanship that was offered to sale.

But

But growing foolish again, he caused twenty ordinances to be published in one day, two of them on very singular subjects. The one set forth, that as the vintage would be good and plentiful, people should take care to pitch their barrels well: the other recommended juice of yew as a good remedy against the bite of a viper. A.R. 798. A. C. 47.

Whilst Claudius was busied in the functions of censor, Messalina and the freemen continued acting their cruel parts, putting several in danger, under pretence of plots against the state and emperor. They attacked in that manner some people of no great consequence, whom Claudius either overlooked, or punished but slightly, saying, he would not take revenge on a flea, but on a lion. His son-in-law Pompeius Magnus, married to his eldest daughter Antonia, lost his life. Though he was guilty of no other crime than having displeased Messalina, Claudius had him stabbed in bed without the least form of proceeding against him. Crassus Frugi his father, and Scribonia his mother, perished with him. Their nobility was their crime: for Crassus was not at all to be dreaded for his genius or parts. He resembled Claudius perfectly in his stupidity, and was in that respect as worthy to succeed him, as he was incapable of coveting his post.

Several persons accused of conspiracy. *Dio.*

Pompeius Magnus, son-in-law to Claudius, put to death, with his father and mother. *Suet. Claud.* 29. *Sen.* Ἀποκολοκ.

Valerius Asiaticus was attacked next. Tacitus (for here we find him again, as the reader will readily perceive) gives us a long account of that affair, but still we are left to guess at some circumstances for want of the beginning of his narrative.

Condemnation and death of Valerius Asiaticus. *Tac. an.* xi. 1 *Dio*

This black intrigue, to which one of the most illustrious members of the senate twice

honoured

A.R. 798. honoured with the first dignity in the empire,
A.C. 47. fell a victim, seems to have arisen from some pique between Messalina and Poppæa. The latter, daughter of Poppæus Sabinus, a man of consular rank, and who had obtained triumphal honours under Tiberius, was the handsomest, though not the most virtuous woman in Rome.

Tac. ann. XIII. 45.

She carried on a criminal commerce with the pantomime Mnester, of whom, as we have seen, Messalina was distractedly fond. The enraged empress, jealous beyond all bounds, imagined Valerius Asiaticus had likewise some share in Poppæa's debauches. Besides that, she wanted much to possess herself of Lucullus's gardens, adorned and magnificently beautified by Asiaticus at a vast expence. She resolved therefore to rid herself of Asiaticus and Poppæa; and to that end suborned Suilius, of whom we have already spoken, and shall say more in the course of this work, to accuse them. Suilius was an advocate more noted for his knowledge than for his integrity. She gave him, by way of assistant, Sosibius, under whose care Britannicus was educate. The subtle Greek, pretending an extraordinary zeal and regard for the emperor's person, insinuated, "That the great power "and riches of subjects were dangerous to the "prince. That Asiaticus had been the chief "author of Caius's death, and bold enough "to own it, and even to glory in it before a "full assembly of the Roman people. That "having by that gained a great name in the "city, and seeing his reputation spread to remote provinces, he was preparing to go

Tac. XI. 4.

"and

" and solicit assistance from the German arms. A.R.798.
" That being born at Vienne, and allied to A. C. 47.
" all the people of the first distinction in Gaul,
" it would be easy for him to prevail on na-
" tions, whose blood ran in his veins, to re-
" volt."

Claudius was credulous to the last degree, the moment he apprehended the least shadow of danger. So, without any further enquiry, he dispatched Crispinus the prætorian præfect, with a detachment of the guards, as if a war, on the point of breaking out, had been to be quelled. Asiaticus was then at Baii in Campania. He was seized, put in irons, and carried to Rome: and his trial immediately proceeded on, not before the senate, but in Claudius's own apartment before Messalina.

Suilius, who acted the part of accuser, charged Asiaticus with having bribed and gained over the soldiers by money and other illicit practices. He taxed him too, with having an adulterous commerce with Poppæa, and with crimes of another kind, contrary to nature, and shameful to it. Asiaticus was a man of sense and courage. He defended himself so well that Claudius was quite moved, nor could Messalina herself refrain from tears: but they were only the effect of a mere machinal impression that did not in the least affect her heart. Stepping out to dry her eyes, she charged Vitellius not to let the accused escape.

Yet the accusation refuted itself. Asiaticus desired some one of those soldiers whose fidelity he was said to have corrupted, might be confronted with him. A soldier was produced, who did not even know him: only they had told

A. R. 784. told him Asiaticus was bald. The false wit-
A. C. 79. ness being asked if he knew him, answered he did, and to prove his assertion, pointed at one of the company whom he took for Asiaticus, because he too had a bald head. The mistake was laughed at; Claudius himself was sensible of the consequence, and inclined to acquit Asiaticus.

Vitellius prevented the effect of that honest impulse, by a most horrid treachery. With a mild tone of voice, and dropping a few tears, he said, Asiaticus and he had ever been friends; that they together had paid their court to Antonia, the emperor's mother. He set forth the services Asiaticus had done the republic, his valour in the British war, and every other circumstance that spoke in his favour: and concluded by giving him leave to chuse what kind of death he liked best. Claudius followed the suggestions of those by whom he was used to be governed, with such stupidity, that he agreed to it, thinking he did an act of clemency.

Dion Cassius tells this story somewhat differently. He says, that Vitellius in his speech supposed himself authorized by Asiaticus, to desire he might have leave to chuse his death, and that Claudius believing what he said, looked upon the prisoner's request as an acknowledgment of his guilt. Those who think this account the most probable are welcome to prefer it: but for my part, I rather think it an explanation, invented by some, who could not imagine to what an excessive degree Claudius was stupidly dull, and void of conception.

However that may be, Asiaticus died with a resolution and fortitude worthy the glories he had

had acquired. His friends exhorted him to A. R. 798.
die slowly and gently, by abstaining from food. A. C. 47.
He answered he was greatly obliged to them for that their last token of kindness, but begged to be excused following their advice: and accordingly, after taking his usual exercises, bathing, and supping in good spirits, he had his veins opened, nor did he once complain: only he observed, that he should have fallen more honourably by the artifices of Tiberius, or the madness of Caius, than by the treachery of a woman, and the foul tongue of Vitellius. Before the operation was performed, he desired to see the pile on which his body was to be burnt, and ordered it to be moved to another place, that the heat of the flames might not hurt some trees that grew near: so cool and unconcerned was he at the approach of death.

Whilst they were judging Asiaticus in Claudius's apartment, Messalina stept out, as I have said. She was in a hurry to get rid of Poppæa, and to that end dispatched her emissaries, who painted the horrors of a prison to her in such strong colours, that she determined to kill herself to avoid them. All this was done without Claudius's hearing the least mention made of it: he knew so little of what had passed, that a few days afterwards seeing Scipio, Poppæa's husband, at his table, he asked him why he had not brought his wife: Scipio answered, she was dead.

Two brothers, Roman knights of great distinction, were likewise sufferers by this affair, for lending Mnester and Poppæa their house to meet at. That was their crime. But Suilius accused them before the senate for a dream

one

A.R.798. A. C. 47. one of them had had, and which they had interpreted a prognostic of some public misfortune, or the prince's speedy death. They were condemned: whilst those who had assisted Messalina in this plot were rewarded. The prætorian præfect, Crispinus, had a gratification of * fifteen hundred thousand sesterces, and the ornaments of prætor. Vitellius caused a million of † sesterces to be given Sosibius, as a person useful to the republic, on account of the instructions he gave Britannicus, and the wise counsels with which he assisted the emperor.

* 12,000*l.*

† 800*l.*

Scipio, Poppæa's husband, was present at this deliberation of the senate, and when it was his turn to speak, came off with great readiness of mind. "Since * I cannot, said he, but "think as others do concerning Poppæa's con- "duct, you may suppose my vote the same as "theirs."

Complaints against the lawyers. Regulation fixing their salaries. *Tac. Ann.* xi. 1.

Suilius, who without doubt had plundered his share of Asiaticus's spoils, allured by gain, embraced the trade of accuser with a rapacious cruelty, and his example was followed by many others. For those who sought only to enrich themselves at the expence of the unfortunate, had the finest opportunities of so doing, under a prince, whose strongest passion was to judge, and who engrossed the whole authority of the laws and magistrates. Lawyers publicly bartered their clients causes without shame, and their † perfidy, says Tacitus, was exposed to

* Quum idem de admissis Pappææ sentiam quod omnes, putate me idem dicere quod omnes.

† Nec quidquam publicæ mercis tam venale fuit quam advocatorum perfidia

to sale as publicly as any thing at market. A.R.798.
This is confirmed by the melancholy adventure A. C. 47.
of an illustrious Roman knight, who, after giving Suilius * four hundred thousand sesterces, * 2300*l.*
hearing he betrayed him, and had an understanding with his adverse party, stabbed himself in his perfidious advocate's house.

This affair made so much noise, that complaints were laid before the senate by C. Silius, consul elect, and a personal enemy to Suilius. On his remonstrances the senators, with one voice, cried out, The law Cincia should be put in force: by that law, made long before, and revived by Augustus, advocates were forbid to receive either money or presents from their clients. Those who were *Dion. l. lix.*
any ways concerned opposed the senate. But Silius insisted strongly, alledging the examples of the orators of old, who thought the glory and reputation they were to acquire with posterity, the only reward becoming their profession. "If once men are suffered to deviate "from that maxim, added he, eloquence, the "first of liberal arts, must become a sordid "traffic. The fidelity of a man is in danger "of being seduced, the moment he is suffered "to consider what gains he can make. Be-"sides, if no one is to be a gainer by it, we "shall have fewer law-suits: whereas on the "footing things now are, enmities are created "and kept up; accusations, injuries, and ha-"tred are multiplied, and the chicaneries of "the bar enrich advocates, as the distempers "of the people enrich physicians. Let them "imitate the examples of Pollio, Messala, or "even of Arruntius and Esernina, whose

"a little

A. R. 798. A. C. 47. " memories are still fresh, and who attained " the highest pitch of honour and glory by " the integrity of their lives, and their elo- " quence uninfluenced by any sordid views of " interest."

Every one was affected by this speech, and just ready to decree, that whoever had taken money from their clients, should be punished as guilty of extortion, when Suilius, Cossutianus Capito, who was like him, and of whom we shall soon have occasion to say more, with others who were in the same case, being sensible it was not their interest to undergo an examination, the fact being too notorious, and that they must certainly be condemned, drew near Claudius, who was present, and begged to be pardoned for what was past. He gave them a favourable nod, without saying any thing. Encouraged by that sign of protection, and raising their voices, " Which of us, said " they, is proud enough to expect immorta- " lity? We afford our fellow citizens a neces- " sary assistance, that the weak may not be " oppressed and crushed by the strong, for " want of some one to defend them. Besides, " eloquence is not acquired without expence; " we leave our own business to take care of " other peoples. Several ways are open to " acquire a fortune; the army, or to cultivate " one's own lands; but no one engages in a " profession without a view of reaping some " advantage from it. It was very easy for a " Pollio and a Messala, enriched by civil wars, " and for an Esernius and an Arruncius, heirs " to great estates left them by their ancestors, " to have those noble and elevated sentiments.

" If

"If we were minded to alledge contrary examples, how were Clodius and Curio paid for their harangues? We are senators of moderate fortunes, who during the tranquillity the republic enjoys, subsist only by arts useful in times of peace. If you cut off the rewards of study, all study must be at an end." A.R. 798. A. C. 47.

There was less of dignity in this proposal, but Claudius did not think it destitute of plausible reasons. A medium was fixed on, which was, to allow advocates to take as far as * ten thousand sesterces, but if they took more they were to be prosecuted for extortion. This regulation passed into a law. Yet the most illustrious orators kept up, as appears by the example of the younger Pliny, the ancient nobility of their profession, taking neither fee nor reward. Quintilian has discussed this question, and examined how far advocates may lawfully exact a tribute for their assistance. What he says on that subject is so judicious, that, as Mr Rollin † observes, his principles ought to be laid down as a rule, even where a contrary custom prevails. * 80 l. *Instit. O.* xii. 7. † *Treatise on study.* T. II. § III. *of eloquence,* art. 3.

This year, which is the seven hundred and ninety-eighth of Rome, according to Cato's calculation, which we follow, was the eight hundredth according to Varro's account of the foundation of the city; and so the * Romans too Secular games. *Tac.* xi. ann. 12. *Suet. Claud.* 21

* If it be asked, why we do not follow the method the Romans themselves did in reckoning the years of Rome, our answer is, that Livy, who was M. Rollin's guide in the beginning of his history of the Roman Republic is thought, by able chronologists, to have adopted Cato's

A.R.798. A. C. 47. too then reckoned it. It was consequently the year for the secular games, supposing they were to be celebrated every hundred years. Augustus had followed another system; his century was composed of a hundred and ten years, and of course it was the year of Rome seven hundred thirty-five when he gave the secular games. Claudius did not think the example of Augustus ought to be a law to him on this occasion. Desirous to illustrate his reign by the solemnization of such a festival, he preferred the vulgar calculation, and celebrated the secular games this year.

It occasioned however an absurdity in the invitations to those games. By a set form of words the citizens were invited to a festival that none of them had ever seen before, nor ever would see again. Now this was but the sixty-fourth year since Augustus's secular games, so that several then alive had seen them, and Stephanio, the comedian, played at both of them.

Plin. VII. 48.

Claudius thought the solemnization of secular games too fine a thing to be stopped for such an objection as that. We shall see Domitian think and do the same, and repeat the like absurdity. Games, plays, and all sorts of public diversions, were matters of great moment with the Romans. The people were distractedly fond of them, and their princes made

calculation; and in those times where the Roman chronology is most intricate and uncertain, it not being quite clear but from the time of Pyrrhus's war; his system is the easiest and best corrected. After adopting it once, it became necessary to continue it, and a difference of two years is no very great object in such a space of time as the duration of Rome.

made an excellent political use of it, amusing the citizens, and taking off their attention from more serious objects that might have interfered with the government. Claudius gave numbers of diversions of those kinds during his reign, as much at least to satisfy his own taste and inclination, as out of any political views, of which he was hardly capable. A. R. 798. A. C. 47

Among other diversions at these secular games, the Trojan course was performed by children of the best families in Rome. Britannicus made his appearance there with L. Domitius, who soon after being adopted by Claudius, received the additional name of Nero. The latter of these young princes engrossed the people's affection. He was the only surviving male of the posterity of Germanicus, whose memory was still dear to the Romans. Fables were told of him fit to attract the veneration of a credulous multitude; dragons, they said, had guarded and watched over his infancy. His mother Agrippina, whose sister Messalina had already been the death of, and who was exposed to the same danger, was the object of their pity and compassion. Messalina perceived it, and would certainly have removed the obstacle that gave her umbrage, had she been less taken up with a new amour, her love for the handsomest youth of all the Roman nobility, Silus, consul elect, of whom we have just spoken, and son of that Silius whom Tiberius sacrificed to his hatred against the family of Germanicus. Domitius, afterwards called Nero, the people's darling. *Tac.*

Love it was not; it was rather rage. Messalina's mind and heart, full of that object only, could admit of no other thought. Messalina's outrageous love of Silius.

A.R. 798. A. C. 47. The first step she took was to oblige Silius to repudiate his wife Julia Silana, a lady of great quality, that she alone might have the enjoyment of him. Silius * was sensible of the greatness both of the crime and danger; but at the same time his doom was certain if he resisted. He did not despair of deceiving the weak Claudius. Honours and riches were to shower down on him; and, deplorably blind, instead of dying nobly, and carrying the glory of innocence with him to the grave, he trusted to fortune for what might happen, and in the meantime enjoyed the present. Messalina made no mystery of her intrigue; she visited Silius with a grand retinue, went with him whenever he appeared in public, and loaded him with favours and dignities. In short, as if it had been to hasten the revolution that was soon to happen, the prince's slaves, his freemen, furniture and equipages, were all to be seen at the house of the man who corrupted his wife. Such extremes seem incredible, yet they are but a faint sketch of what ensued the year following, which brought on the catastrophe.

Claudius busies himself in the functions of censor. Three new letters added to the alphabet

Claudius was all this time busied in performing his functions of censor. He checked, by many edicts, the licentiousness of the populace, who had dared to say several injurious things to some ladies of distinction at the theatre, and to Pomponius, a man of consular dignity, and a celebrated tragic writer. He made a law against usurious

* Neque Silius flagitii aut periculi necius erat: sed certo si abnueret exitio, et nonnulla fallendi spe, simul magnis præmiis, opperiri futura, et præsentibus frui pro solatio habebat. *Tac.* xi. 12.

usurious loans of money lent to children on the contingent event of their father's death. He continued working at his aqueducts. He was even taken up with a subject more suiting a grammarian than a prince. He had formerly wrote a dissertation to prove the Roman alphabet wanted three characters or letters. He was willing to introduce the use of them by imperial authority, and in fact they were used during his reign in all public monuments: after his death, they were so far forgot, that we know but two of them with any certainty, the Æolic Digamma, which answers to our *v* consonant, and the Antisigma, which answers a *p* and an *s* joined together: the third is lost. A. R. 798. A. C. 47. *Tac. xi. ann. 13. & ibi Lips. Suet. Claud. 41.*

Foreign affairs afford us this year some interesting events. Commotions arose in Asia and in the east, as well as in Germany. As the troubles in the east form a concatenation of events of several years, I shall reserve them till a proper opportunity offers to mention them all together. What passed in Germany is more detached. Commotions in Asia. In Germany.

The Cherusci had lost almost all their nobility in their intestine broils, having only one left of the royal family, and he was at Rome. His name was Italus, son of Flavius, and consequently nephew of Arminius: Catumerus, chief of the Catti, was his grandfather by the mother's side. To that illustrious birth, were joined personal advantages: the young prince was handsome, well made, and versed in all the military exercises both of the Romans and Germans. The Cherusci having desired him for their king, Claudius made him large presents, gave him a guard, and at taking *Tac. xi. ann. 16. Suet. Claud. 25.* * See Lipsius.

A.R. 798. A. C. 47. taking leave, exhorted him to be ever mindful of the glory of his ancestors. " You are the " first, said he to him, who, born at Rome " and brought up among us, not as an hostage, " but a * citizen, ever went to take possession " of a foreign kingdom."

At first every thing succeeded to Italus's wish. As he could have no concern in the factions that divided the Cherusci, he treated them all alike, and by that means pleased them all. His behaviour was a mixture of the Roman manners with those of his own nation: moderation and mildness preserved him from making himself enemies; and the elegance of his table, and his turn for luxury and parties of pleasure, made him agreeable to the barbarians. His court became numerous, and his reputation began to spread afar.

Those who had headed the factions, began to fear they had given themselves a master. They betook themselves to neighbouring nations, whom they endeavoured to spirit up against Italus. " The German liberty, said they, is " lost, and the Roman dominion settled over " us. What! Was there then no one born " a German, fit to hold the first rank, but " the son of the traitor Flavius must be sent " for from Rome, and raised over our heads? " It is in vain to alledge in his favour, his " being related to Arminius. If * he were his " son, and not his nephew only; still, when " thus raised by our enemies, infected by a " servile

* His father Flavius was certainly a citizen, and probably a Roman knight.

† I deviate a little here from the text of Tacitus, for reasons too long to mention now, and which most of my readers must be sensible of.

" servile education and foreign manners, what A.R.798.
" should we not have room to fear from him? A. C. 47.
" but if he has inherited his father's senti-
" ments, no man ever fought with more ani-
" mosity than that father against his country,
" and the gods of the Germans."

These speeches made impression on many, and a considerable body of forces was soon raised. Italus had a strong party on his side, and his friends represented, that, far from having established himself by violence, he had been called and chosen by the whole nation. " He has, said they, the advantage of being " nobly born: try his virtues, and see whe-" ther he be worthy Arminius his uncle, and " Catumerus his grandfather. Nor has he " any cause to blush for his father. Flavius " entered into the Roman service with the " consent of all his countrymen. Is he to be " deemed criminal, because he would not " break his engagements? in vain do some " madmen sound so loud the name of liberty, " whilst low and despicable in themselves, " and a nuisance to the public, their only " hopes are placed in discord."

The two parties engaged, and the king gained a complete victory. But this good fortune spoiled him. He gave himself up to pride and cruelty; and, expelled by his subjects, restored again by the Lombards, his prosperities and misfortunes were equally fatal to the Cherusci.

The Romans did not interfere in these disturbances, but left the Cherusci to their own divisions, as Tiberius had politically done before. But they could not avoid taking notice of

Incursions of the Cauci into Lower Germany. Tac. xi. ann. 18

A.R.798. A. C. 47. of the incursions the Cauci were making in lower Germany. That nation, emboldened by the news of Sanquinius Maximus's death, by which means the legions on the lower Rhine were left without a head, listened to the solicitations of Gannascus, who, born a Caninefate *, and having long served the Romans as an auxiliary, had afterwards forsaken them, and, with the help of some small light vessels, made frequent descents on the coasts of Gaul; knowing that people to be rich and enervated by a long peace.

Corbulo's exploits.

The arrival of Sanquinius's successor soon put a stop to these disorders. It was the famous Corbulo, who, under Tiberius and Caius, had not been remarkable for his good qualities, but was a great master of the art of war, and would perhaps have equalled the exploits of the greatest Roman generals, had he lived in a time when merit and talents might have shewn themselves with safety. The moment he arrived in his province, he sent his gallies down the Rhine, and small boats through the lakes and canals that had not depth enough of water for larger vessels. He chaced the enemies ships, took some, and sunk others, and at once restored safety and tranquillity to the Gallic coasts.

To put it out of Gannascus's power to appear any more at sea, did not satisfy him. Thirsting after glory, he projected conquests, and wisely judged the first step towards them must be to reform the discipline of his own army. The Roman soldiers had quite forgot the

* The Caninefates dwelt in a part of the island that the Batavians inhabited.

the labours and works of war. Like the barbarians, they delighted in plunder and incursions. Corbulo put in force the utmost severity of the old military laws. No one was to stray from his place on a march, nor fight without order: the soldier, whether in the guard-room, on duty as a centinel, or on any other post either by day or night, was always armed: and it is said he put two to death for working at a ditch, the one without his sword, and the other for having a dagger instead of a sword. As Tacitus * observes, such rigour would be extreme, and things are probably exaggerated. But we may from thence infer, says he, that a general, who could be supposed to punish slight faults with such severity, must have been very strict and inexorable in great ones. A.R.798. A. C. 47.

The restoration of discipline had its intended effect: by it the courage of the Roman legion was increased and a dread struck on the enemy: and according to the Frisons, who had remained in arms, or had not been thoroughly subdued, for near twenty years past, when they revolted and gained some advantages over L. Apronius, now submitted peaceably to the yoke, and giving hostages, were content to shut themselves up within the country Corbulo assigned them to live in. He prescribed their form of government, made their laws, gave them a senate and magistrates, and to keep them perfectly in awe, built a fort in the middle of their *See book vi. year of Rome 170.*

* Quæ nimia, et incertum an falsa jacta vel aucta, originem traxere a severitate ducis: intentumque et magnis delictis inexorabilem scimus, cui tantum a peritatis etiam adversis levia credebantur

A.R.798. A. C. 47. their country, and put a strong garrison in it.

He attacked Gannascus next, not by open war, but by surprise, and laying ambushes for him. He looked upon him in the light of a deserter and traitor, whom it was lawful to deceive. He succeeded in it: Gannascus was assassinated, and his death spirited up the Cauci. That was what Corbulo wanted, and he took care to encourage the war underhand: for which * he was praised by the generality, but blamed by more sensible men. "To what "end, said the latter, does he endeavour to "spirit up nations that are enemies to Rome? "if any misfortunes happen, they will light "on the republic. If he is victorious, a war-"rior of merit is formidable in times of peace, "and cannot fail to be a burden to an indo-"lent idle prince."

This proved a kind of prediction that was soon verified. Claudius was so unwilling to attempt any new enterprize against the Germans, that he sent Corbulo orders to bring the Roman legions back to the other side of the Rhine. That general was already encamped in the enemy's country when he received the order. A † thing so unexpected, could not but give him room to form many conjectures. He feared the emperor's jealousy, the contempt of

* Ut læta apud plerosque, ita apud quosdam sinistra fama. Cur hostem conciret? adversa in rempublicam casura: sin prospere egisset, formidolorum pacì virum insignium, et ignavo principi prægravem.

† Ille re subita, quanquam multa simul offunderentur, metus ex imperatore, contemptio ex Barbaris, ludibrium apud socios, nihil aliud prolocutus quam Beatos quondam duces Romanos! signum receptui dedit.

of the barbarians, and the railleries of the allies. But keeping his temper, he said no more than this, "O how happy, how much to be "envied was the condition of an old Roman "general;" and instantly gave the signal to retreat. A.R.798. A. C. 47.

However, not to let the soldiers be idle, he set them about digging a canal between the Rhine and the Maese, a space of about three and twenty miles, to preserve the country from inundations, and be a drain to it, in case of any extraordinary overflowings of the sea. Cellarius, after Cluverius, takes this to be the canal that begins at Leyden, passes by Delft, continues on to Maesland, and joins the Maese at the village of Sluys. Canal between the Rhine and the Maese.

Claudius granted Corbulo the ornaments of triumph, though he had forbid him the means of meriting them.

He granted the same honours soon after to Curtius Rufus, who probably commanded in upper Germany, and whose only exploit was his opening a silver mine in the territory of Mattiacum *. The work being great, and the produce very small, the mine was soon abandoned. The generals used to fatigue their soldiers in this manner, with works often laborious, and of little use, that they might have an opportunity of asking the ornaments of triumph, which Claudius, as we have said, was always very ready to grant. On that occasion, a letter was handed about as wrote in the name of the army, beseeching the emperor to bestow the ornaments of triumph before hand, Curtius Rufus obtains the ornaments of triumph. * *Mar. Pourg.* *Suet. Claud.* 24.

on

* Ryckius, in his notes, is strongly against this sentiment: he leaves it however to geographers to discuss.

A.R. 798. A. C. 47. on whoever he gave the command of his legions to.

Perhaps he is the same with Quintus Curtius.

Lipsius, and the president Brisson, think this Curtius Rufus, of whom we have been speaking, is our Quintus Curtius, author of an elegant history of Alexander, as famous among us, as it was unknown to all antiquity. Their opinion seems very probable, and a passage in the tenth book of Quintus Curtius seems plainly to describe the disturbances that ensued Caligula's death, and the tranquillity restored by Claudius's elevation to the empire. It must indeed be owned, it is surprising Tacitus, and the younger Pliny, who both give a pretty circumstantial account of what befel Curtius's person, should not have said one word of his work. Be that as it may, the following is the account those authors give us of Curtius Rufus, whose fortune, singular in itself, has been greatly embellished by fiction.

Lips. ad Tac. XI. ann. 21. Barn. Briss. de Regno Pers. l. 1.

His fortune. *Tac. XI. ann. 21. & Plin. ep. 27 l. VII.*

He was of very low extraction: some say his father was a gladiator. In that point Tacitus leaves us in doubt, not chusing to tell a falsity, and being ashamed, as himself owns, to speak the truth. Curtius in his youth attached himself to the quæstor, in whose department Africa was, and came to Adrumetum. There, whilst he was walking alone under a spacious portico, in the heat of the day, a phantom of an enormous size, suddenly appeared before him, and said, "Rufus, I "am Africa, thou shalt come and govern "this province as proconsul, and shalt die "here." Nothing could be further from Curtius's thoughts, than a station of that great eminence. But a prodigy cannot but give cou-

rage

rage. On his return to Rome, by his own understanding, quick and penetrating, and with the help of his friend's liberalities, he soon obtained the quæstorship. After that he was named prætor by Tiberius, preferably to candidates of the greatest nobility. Tiberius covered the obscurity, or rather ignominy of his birth, by a singular turn of expression. "* I "look upon Curtius, said he, as author of "himself." He seems to have waited a long time before he was consul, and but little deserved to be made one, if Tacitus describes him right. He says he was an † odious flatterer of those above him, haughty and arrogant to those beneath him, and of a difficult and disagreeable commerce with his equals. He made his way however He received, as I have said, the ornaments of triumph: and that nothing might be wanting to fulfil the prediction, the proconsulship of Africa fell to him by lot. But on his arrival at Carthage, the same phantom appeared to him again; and soon after being seized with a distemper, which none of those about him thought dangerous, he immediately judged it mortal; and so it proved. A.R.798. A. C. 47.

Tacitus, as incredulous as he is, tells this story very seriously. The younger Pliny a ks a man of learning what he is to think of it. For our parts, we shall at once rank Curtius's phantom with Nero's dragon, and so many other fables of that kind, with which the fondness

* Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus.

† Adversus superiores tristi adulatione, arrogans meritoribus, inter pares difficilis.

A.R.798. A. C. 47. ness men have for whatever is extraordinary and marvellous, has filled the world.

Plautius's ovation. *Dio. Tac. Agr. c.* 14.

Plautius returned this year from Britain, and obtained from Claudius, as I have said, the lesser triumph. He was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula, a brave and experienced officer, and capable of making the best advantages of the conquest begun by his predecessor.

Claudius is in danger of being assassinated. *Tac.* xi. *ann.* 22.

Claudius was in danger of being assassinated, by means, and for reasons unknown to us, though the guilty person was discovered. Cn. Novius *, a Roman knight, was detected, armed with a dagger, among the crowd that came to pay their court to the emperor. He was secured and put to the rack. He confessed his crime, but would not discover his accomplices.

The quæstors obliged to give a combat of gladiators.

The Romans were so passionately fond of all kinds of shews and diversions, that they sought every opportunity to increase them. At Dolabella's request, the senate ordained that, for the future, those who were made quæstors should be obliged to give a combat of gladiators at their own expence. Tacitus very justly blames this decree, by which, employments that should be given to merit, had a price set on them, and were in a manner put up to sale.

Vetellius's two sons consuls the same year. *Suet. Vit.* 3.

Vitellius, at this time censor, saw his two sons made consuls the next year, though not both at the same time. The eldest, who was afterwards emperor, was consul the first six months, and his brother succeeded him the other six.

A. VI-

* This event is very like what Suetonius relates, n 13, of Claudius's life. I have mentioned it before.

A. Vitellius. A.R.799.
L. Vipstanus *. A. C. 48.

The censorship was not confined to the limits of a year. At first, it lasted five years; but was afterwards restrained to eighteen months. Claudius, and Vetellius the father, were censors so long at least; and what is very certain is, that they still were censors, during the year in which the two Vetellius's were successively consuls: and to this very year it is, that Tacitus ascribes the most important transactions of Claudius's censorship.

The Gauls admitted into the senate, and to the dignities of the empire. *Tac. xi. ann. 23.*

The senate was to be completed, and on that occasion the chief and most illustrious of those the Romans called the *long haired Gauls*, desired to be admitted. All Cis-Alpine Gaul had long enjoyed every privilege annexed to the qualification of Roman citizen, Narbonnese Gaul had likewise given Rome senators and consuls. Even in the countries subdued by Cæsar, which are those we are here speaking of, the titles of allies of Rome, and Roman citizens, had been granted to the chief nobility. But still they had no entrance into the senate, nor consequently to any dignities of the empire; and that was what they most ardently desired.

The steps they took in order to succeed, made some noise in Rome, and several remonstrances were made to the emperor on that occasion. They said Italy was not so destitute of subjects, but that there were enough to fill the senate

* So Ryckius says the name of this consul should be wrote, and not Vipsanius, as we read in the common editions of Tacitus.

A.R.799. A. C. 48. senate of his capital. "Our ancestors, added they, whose example is very properly set before our eyes, were so reserved in this respect, that they would have no senator who was not of Roman blood. Is it not enough that the Veneti and Insubrii have forced their way into the senate? and will people not be satisfied till they have introduced a crowd of strangers, who will keep us captives as it were in the heart of the empire? What prerogatives shall henceforth distinguish the precious remains that are left us of the old Roman nobility? What is to become of the poor Latian senators? all will be over-run and swallowed up by these richer men, whose forefathers cut our legions to pieces, and besieged Cæsar in Alisum. These things are recent. What then could be said, were we to call to mind the city burnt, and the capital attacked by these very people? Let them enjoy the name of Roman citizens: but let them respect, and not pretend to invade the senatorial dignity, and the pre-eminence of magistracy."

Claudius was not moved by this discourse, nor touched by these reasons. He assembled the senate, and Tacitus makes him speak in the following manner: "My ancestors, the eldest of whom, Atta Clausus, a Sabine by origin, was admitted to the privileges of Roman citizen, and the rank of Patrician at the same time, exhort me to govern the republic by the same maxims that they followed, and to imitate them, in transporting hither, every thing that is to be found good and excellent, in whatsoever country it be.

"Is

" Is any one ignorant, that the Julii came to A.R.799.
" us from Alba, Coruncanius from Camerium, A. C. 48.
" and the Porcii from Tusculum? and with-
" out searching into antiquity, Etruria, Lu-
" cania, and all Italy have, for a long time
" past, furnished us with senators. We have
" even extended the * boundaries of Italy to
" the Alps, in order to incorporate into the
" state, not only some particular persons, but
" even whole nations and people. Nothing
" contributes more to secure the tranquillity
" we enjoy at home, and that power which
" makes us respected by strangers, than our
" colonies spread over the face of the whole
" earth, and all intermixed with the better
" class of the inhabitants of the countries
" where they are settled. Do we repent of
" having received a Balbus from Spain, and
" several illustrious men from Narbonnese
" Gaul? their families have remained among
" us, nor do they love our country, now be-
" come their own, less than we do. What
" was it that ruined the Lacedemonians and
" Athenians, how powerful soever they may
" have been in arms, but that, ridiculously
" jealous of the rights of burgessy in their
" cities, they excluded all conquered nations,
" and treated them as strangers? Our founder
" on the contrary gave proofs of such superior
" wisdom, that often, the same day, has seen
" the same people enemies to Rome and citi-
" zens of it. We have had strangers for our
" kings. It is not, as some have thought, any
" novelty

* All that was called Cisalpine Gaul was formerly not deemed a part of Italy.

A.R.799. A. C. 48. " novelty to admit * sons of freemen into the " magistracy. Antiquity is full of instances " of it.

" It is objected, that we have been at " war with the Senonese. But did the Volsci " and Equi never fight against us? our city " has been taken by the Gauls: and we have " given hostages to the Tuscans; we have " bowed under the yoke of the Samnites. " After all, let us recollect all our wars: not " one will be found ended in less time, than " that which made us masters of Gaul: and " ever since that conquest, a constant peace " and uninterrupted fidelity, assure us of the " attachment of that people. They have " adopted our manners, studied our arts, uni- " ted their blood to ours by intermarriages. " Let us then suffer them to bring us their " gold and riches, instead of their enjoying " them at home. † A time was, gentlemen, " when what is now thought most ancient, " was new. Plebeians obtained magistracies " after the Patricians; the Latins after the " Plebeans; and other nations of Italy after the " Latins. So will it be with regard to the " present establishment; it will in process " of

* Suetonius (Claud. 24.) says Claudius was mistaken in this, and that he misunderstood the Latin word *Libertinus*, which in his time signified a freeman, but was originally intended to signify the son of a freeman. It might be somewhat difficult to determine now-a-days which was right, nor is it of much importance to us.

† Omnia, P. C. quæ nunc vetustissima creduntur, nova fuere. plebeii magistratus post patricios, Latini post plebeios, cæterarum Itali gentium post Latinos. Inveterascet hoc eunque: et quod nunc tuemur exemplis, mox ipsum exempla erit.

" of time acquire the veneration paid to an- A.R.799.
" tiquity: and what we now alledge examples A.C. 48.
" in support of, will itself be one day alledged
" as an example."

This speech, which Tacitus puts into Claudius's mouth, may be presumed a sketch of that which the emperor really pronounced in the senate. Any one may easily be convinced of that, by comparing it with a fragment of Claudius's original harangue, still preserved in the town-house at Lyons, and which Lipsius has inserted in his commentary on Tacitus. We there find the same reproach of innovation refuted by the changes that had happened in the administration of the Roman republic. The same inference drawn from the constant and faithful attachment of the Gauls to the empire of Rome since their first reduction by Cæsar: the whole expressed in a loose verbose stile, with digressions no ways necessary; but the diction is easy, and does not want elegance. A fragment of Claudius's speech on that occasion.

One of the digressions, I have been speaking, of, is dictated by Claudius's vanity, arising from the conquest of a part of Britain. " Were " * I to relate here, says he, with what wars " our ancestors began, and how far we have " spread our dominion, I should fear being " suspected of vanity, because I have extended " the boundaries of the empire beyond the " ocean."

I know not whether those, who may read the whole of this fragment, will think Tacitus

* Jam si narrem bella a quibus experint majores nostri, et quo processerint vereor ne nimio insolentiæ esse videar, et quæ esse jactationem gloriæ prolati imperii trà oceanum

A. R. 799. A. C. 48. tus has done us an injury, by substituting his speech in the room of Claudius's. Historical truth would indeed have been more strictly observed had he transcribed the latter: but readers of taste would have been less satisfied. He might have preserved the original harangue without inserting it in the text of his work, if the ancients had piqued themselves on the same exactness as we do now: and if they had thought of adding a collection of proofs and authentic memorials at the end of their works, as our modern authors do.

Reflections on that regulation.

The emperor's speech was followed by a decree of the senate, agreeable to the purport of it; and the Gauls, a hundred years before that, enemies to Rome, now became qualified to possess the first dignities. What Claudius foresaw, happened; the example was imitated, and the full right of burgessy spreading from one to another, all the subjects of the empire at last became Romans. The conquered shared the honours of the conquerors. The senate was open to all, and all might aspire even at the empire. Thus, by the Roman clemency, all those different nations became now but one, and Rome was their common country.

Bossuet's Univ. Hist.

This policy, so mild and so justly praised by Mr Bossuet, had, however, like all other human things, its inconveniences. The maxims of old Rome were by degrees vitiated by so many foreign mixtures. Barbarians, who often had nothing of Romans but the name, possessed themselves of the greatest employments, and even of the imperial dignity. Augustus would have been strangely surprised, could he have foreseen, when he laid the foundation

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tion of a monarchical government in Rome, that he was working for the Gauls, the Africans, the Illyrians and Thracians, who were to be his successors. A.R. 799. A. C. 48.

The Eduans were the first Gauls that enjoyed this new privilege. This distinction was granted them in consideration of their ancient alliance, and of their qualifications of brothers to the Romans, a title they had long gloried in giving themselves. The Eduans are the first Gauls that enjoy that prerogative. *Tac.* xi. *ann.* 25.

At the same time Claudius created new Patrician families; the number not only of the truly ancient, but likewise of those added by Cæsar, and after him by Augustus, diminishing daily. To that purpose, he chose such members of the senate as were most distinguished by their birth, and by the posts themselves or their fathers had held. New Patrician families.

We know but one of them by name: that is L. Salvius Otho, father of the emperor Otho. His family was originally of Ferentinum in Tuscany, where they held a considerable rank. His father, raised by Livia's credit, was however no more than Prætor. Himself was particularly beloved by Tiberius, whom he was so like in the face, that several thought him his son. He was a man of merit, and rose by degrees from honour to honour, till he was consul. In all the posts he held, all the employments he was put into, and whilst proconsul of Africa, he had the character of being excessively severe and rigid. We have mentioned an instance of it after the revolt and death of Camillus Scribonianus, and have said how Claudius was at first offended at it, but afterwards restored him his friendship. When he The emperor Otho's father made a Patrician. *Suet. Otho.* 1.

A.R.799. A. C. 48. he created him a Patrician, he bestowed great praises on him, and concluded them with these words: "I* shall think myself happy if my "son be like him."

Regard shewn the senators that were struck off the list.

I have already said, that among those who were struck off the list of senators by Claudius, whilst censor, there were several who withdrew themselves voluntarily on account of the scantiness of their fortunes, not adequate to the expences attending the dignity of senator. Tacitus adds, that all whose reputation had suffered any blemish, were permitted to do the same. Claudius even exhorted them to ask leave to withdraw, declaring that he would name all together, and without any distinction, those he should exclude the senate, and those who should resign that rank of their own accord, in order to lessen the shame attending the stigmatizing of any. But such a want of distinction, so favourable to the guilty, appears to me by no means just, with regard to those, who, for very innocent reasons, or even out of a sense of shame, might desire to leave the senate without compulsion. Yet this mildness was received with great applause: and the consul Vipstanus proposed giving Claudius the name of *Father of the Senate*. "For, said "he, that of *Father of the Country*, is grown "too common: new benefactions deserve new "titles of honour." Claudius himself reproved the consul for this excess of flattery.

The lustre closed.

The lustre was closed with the usual formalities. The number of Roman citizens, according to the text of Tacitus, as it is generally

Plin. vii. 49.

* Vir, quo me meliores liberos habere ne opto quidem.

rally read, amounted to six millions nine hun- A.R.799.
dred and sixty-four thousand souls. In this A. C. 48.
number was a most extraordinary instance of human life prolonged beyond its usual bounds. One T. Fullonius of Bologna, declared he was a hundred and fifty years old: the thing appearing very uncomon, as indeed it was, was examined into by Claudius's order, and proved true by the registers of former numberings of the people.

BOOK

BOOK IX.

SECT. I.

Messalina married to Silius. Claudius is informed of it by his freeman Narcissus. Measures taken by Messalina to endeavour to pacify Claudius. Narcissus renders them abortive. Silius and several more are put to death. Messalina's death. Claudius's insensibility. Claudius's marriages. After Messalina's death, he is prevailed on to marry his niece Agrippina. Disgrace of Silanus, who was destined to be Claudius's son-in-law. The celebration of Claudius's marriage deferred on account of their being related. Vitellius removes that difficulty. Agrippina governs, and how. Silanus kills himself. Seneca recalled from banishment, and made Preceptor to Agrippina's son. The marriage of young Domitius with Octavia resolved on. Lollia Paulina banished, and afterwards put to death. Another lady banished. Particular events. Narcissus laughs at Claudius impudently. Privileges granted to senators who came originally from Narbonnese Gaul. Augur of safety. The city enlarged. Agrippa's son adopted by Claudius and called Nero. Britannicus's melancholy fate. Cologne founded by Agrippina. Nero takes the virile robe; is appointed Consul, and declared prince of the youth. Agrippina removes all that were attached

tached to Britannicus. She makes Burrhus præfect of the pretorian cohorts. Honourable prerogative granted Agrippina. Vitellius accused. His character concluded. Dearth in Rome.

A. Vitellius. A.R. 709.
L. Vipstanus. A. C. 48.

TOWARDS the end of this year, Claudius was made sensible of his domestic shame. It must have been notoriously flagrant to have reached his ears. Messalina married to Silius. *Tac.* xi. *ann.* 26. *Suet. Claud.* 26. *Dio.*

Silius, either blinded by his hopes, or thinking a danger like that to which the notoriety of his commerce with Messalina exposed him, could not be avoided, but by carrying things to extremes, pressed that princess strongly to throw off the mask, and put an end to the adventure. He represented to her, that waiting for Claudius's death was quite out of the question; that such a child had nothing to reproach themselves with, might take innocent measures; but that assurance and boldness were the only resource of the guilty. "We are sure "of being backed, said he, by a number of "accomplices, who have the same reasons to "fear that we have. I am not married, I have "no children, and am ready to marry you and "adopt Britannicus. You will still preserve "the same power, and enjoy it without fear, "provided we prevent Claudius, who is not "on his guard, against any snares that may be "laid, but whose wrath is soon kindled, and "his revenge sudden."

Messalina

A.R. 799. A.C. 48. Messalina * heard him coolly, not out of love for her husband, but because she feared Silius, having once obtained his wish, would despise her, and then set a just value on a crime, which, whilst it was necessary, pleased him. She liked the shame of marriage, however, because the allurement of infamy was annexed to it; the last pleasure, says Tacitus, of those, who, having satiated themselves to excess, have no relish for any other. She took the hint therefore, and immediately put it in execution. Claudius being gone to Ostia, Messalina and Silius were married publicly in the face of the whole city, with all the usual ceremonies, all the train and pomp of a lawful wedding between two persons of that high rank. The marriage contract is said to have been signed by Claudius himself, Messalina having made him believe it was done with an intent to guard against some imminent dangers the soothsayers said he was threatened with.

Suet. Claud. 29.

That must seem incredible to many; and those we have the account from, were sensible of it. But it is not strongly attested, and the authors, almost cotemporary, who assert the fact, leave us no room to form the least doubt of it.

Claudius is informed of it by his freeman Narcissus.

Messalina had acted very imprudently in quarrelling with the freemen. Till then, she had committed the greatest crimes with impunity,

* Seguiter hæ voces acceptæ, non amore in maritum, sed ne Silius summa adeptus sperneret adulteram, sceleraque inter ancipitia probatum veris mox pretiis æstimaret. Nomen tamen matrimonii concupivit, ob magnitudinem infamiæ, cujus apud prodigos novissima voluptas est. *Tac.*

nity, in concert with them. But having caused Polibius's death, of whom we have before spoken, one of the most powerful of them, all were alarmed with apprehensions of a like fate. Their fear was greatly encreased by her marriage with Silius. Every one about the prince shuddered at it. The chief freemen particularly, foreseeing the consequences of so strange a step, and being sensible, that in case a revolution should happen, they would be most exposed, advised among themselves, and exhorted each other to take such measures as were most proper for their own and their master's safety. They said openly, that whilst a pantomime defiled the emperor's bed, though the infamy was horrid, yet there was no danger. That the case was different with regard to a young man of quality, whose age, pride, and love of his own person, together with the consulship he was just ready to enter upon, might suggest to him dangerous thoughts, and the highest expectations. They rightly judged, there was danger in the enterprize they meditated, that there was no depending on Claudius, weak and silly as he was, and accustomed to obey his wife: that Messalina well knew how to pass a sentence of death, and had power enough to see it executed. On the other hand, Claudius's easy temper encouraged them; and if they could but get the better at first, and make the prince sensible of the enormity of the crime, they hoped to carry matters on with so high a hand, that Messalina should be condemned without being heard. Their business therefore was to prevent her being heard at any rate, and to render the prince inexorable,

A.R.799. A. C.45. *Dio. ap. Valesii.*

Tac.

even

A. R. 799. A. C. 48. even if she should confess the whole. Such were the reflections that Callistus, Narcissus, and Pallas made. It was some time before they could come to a resolution, and once were very near taking a step that would infallibly have ruined them all. That was, to threaten Messalina secretly, in order to dissuade her from her passion for Silius. But all things considered, they soon were sensible, that Messalina, if apprized of the danger, would not fail to make it fall on them. Frighted at the difficulties of so nice an enterprize, two of them gave it up, Pallas out of cowardice, and Callistus, * because used to the intrigues and subtilties of courts ever since Caligula's time, he well knew circumspection and discretion were surer means of succeeding there, than boldness in attempting new adventures. Narcissus persisted, resolving on the only plan that could take effect, which was, to go directly to Claudius before Messalina could be on her guard.

The opportunity was favourable by the long stay that Claudius made at Ostia. The first step Narcissus took, was to gain over two of the prince's concubines, Calpurnia and Cleopatra, by money, promises, and representing to them how much their power and credit would be encreased by the empress's ruin: he prevailed on them to impeach her. Calpurnia seized the moment when Claudius was alone, threw herself at his feet, and informed him of Messalina's marriage with Silius. At the same time appealing to Cleopatra, who, by agreement was present, she asked her whether she

* Callistus prioris quoque regiæ peritus, et potentiam cautis quam acrioribus consiliis tutius haberi.

she too had not heard of it? Cleopatra answering she had, Calpurnia desired the emperor to send for Narcissus. He came, and after begging the emperor would be pleased to pardon his not having told him sooner of Messalina's other faults, "Even now, said he, it "is not her adultery only that I blame. Si- "lius is served by your slaves, his house is "filled with the furniture of the Cæsars. Nor "is it yet that which makes me speak. Let "him enjoy, if you like it, all the pomp of im- "perial dignity: but let him return you your "wife, and annul the marriage contract made "with her. Do you know, added he, that you "are divorced. The people, senate, and sol- "diers are witnesses to Silius's marriage, and "if you do not make haste, the new bride- "groom will soon be master of the city." A.R.799. A. C. 48.

Claudius ordered the chief of his council to attend him instantly. Turranius, intendant of the provisions, came first, and next Lusius Geta, præfect of the prætorian cohorts. He asked them whether there was any truth in the report of Messalina's marriage. They assured him it was fact: and other counsellors coming, just then advised the emperor to go directly to the prætorian camp, secure the soldiers fidelity, and provide for his own safety, before he thought of punishing others. Claudius was so terrified, that he asked several times if he was still emperor, and whether Silius was not in actual possession of the sovereign power.

In the mean time Messalina, giving herself up more than ever to pleasure and debauch, was celebrating the feasts of the vintage in the palace. Presses were going, and tubs filling with wine, whil t

A.R.799. whilst women dressed in skins of beasts danced
A. C. 48. and ran about like bacchanalians. Messalina, with her hair flowing over her shoulders, and brandishing a thyrsus she held in her hand, and Silius crowned with ivy, and buskins on his legs, imitated the rapid motions of the head practised by the priests of Bacchus: whilst the giddy troop answered with shouts and signs of immoderate joy.

A saying of Vectius Valens, one of the greatest debauchees of the company was recollected when all was over. Climbing up to the top of a high tree, out of a frolic, and being asked what he saw: "I see, said he, "a dreadful storm coming this way from "Ostia."

A storm was coming on indeed: and their mirth was strangely disturbed, first by a confused report, and soon after by certain intelligence, that Claudius was informed of all, and was coming with a resolution to be revenged. All dispersed instantly. Messalina retired to Lucullus's gardens which she had lately got by Asiaticus's death. Silius went to his usual functions, dissembling his fears under an appearance of security. The centurions sent by the emperor soon arrived, and arrested the delinquents wherever they found them.

Measures taken by Messalina to endeavour to pacify Claudius.

Messalina still kept her judgment in this dangerous crisis, she boldly resolved to meet Claudius, and present herself before that husband, over whom she had so often experienced what power the sight of her had. At the same time she ordered Britannicus and Octavia to be carried to embrace their father; and desired Vibidia.

Vibidia, the oldest of the vestals, to entreat A.R.799. the clemency of the high-priest in her favour. A. C. 46. She set out with only three persons to attend her, crossed the whole city on foot, and finding a cart at the gate, got into it, and took the road to Ostia *: not a soul took the least compassion on her all this time: so great was the horror and aversion every one had conceived against her for her crimes.

Narcissus renders them abortive.

Messalina's measures were well taken: but she had a vigilant enemy to deal with. Narcissus, mistrusting the prætorian præfect Lusius Geta, a man void of principles, and equally capable of good or ill as best served his turn, positively assured Claudius, that those who had the same reasons for fear as he had, confirmed it strongly, that the emperor's person was not safe unless the command of the guard was given, for that day only, to one of the freemen; at the same time offering to take it upon himself. Apprehending too, that during the journey from Ostia to Rome, though not a long one, Vitellius and Cœcina Largus might take an opportunity of saying something that might make Claudius alter his resolution, he desired to have, and accordingly took a place in the emperor's coach.

Claudius's discourse varied incessantly. Sometimes he expressed great indignation at Messalina's horrid debauches; at other times he was moved by a remembrance of the nuptial tie, and of his young children. To all this Vitellius made no other answer, but exclaiming *O shame!*

* Nulla cujusquam mulieris, quia diu fortuna prævalebat.

A.R.799. A. C. 48. *O shame! O crime!* Narcissus * pressed him to explain himself and declare his real sentiments. But all he could get from that subtile courtier, was ambiguous answers, susceptible of any meaning the event of things might require, and Cecina, imitated his artful dissimulation.

Messalina was now drawing near and calling out aloud, that the mother of Britannicus and Octavia desired to be heard in her own defence. The accuser was still louder, insisting on the shame of her marriage with Silius: and to prevent Claudius's looking at Messalina, Narcissus gave him a memorial to read, containing an account of all the crimes she had been guilty of. At the entrance of the city, an attempt was made to present Britannicus and Octavia to the emperor, but Narcissus had them taken away. He could not however keep off the vestal who represented to Claudius, that the most sacred laws obliged him not to condemn his wife without first hearing what she had to alledge in her justification. Narcissus answered that the prince would hear her, and give her full liberty to make her defence: but that it would better become a vestal to be employed in the religious rites which the duty of her profession required. All * this time, Claudius was mute, and behaved with an inconceivable stupidity. Vitellius pretended not to know what was the matter: every thing obeyed the freeman.

Narcissus

* Instabat quidem Narcissus aperire ambages et veri copiam facere: sed non ideo pervicit, quin suspensa et quo ducerentur inclinatura responderet.

† Mirum inter hæc silentium Claudii; Vitellius ignaro proprior; omnia liberto obediebant.

Narcissus carried the emperor directly to Silius's house, and after making him observe in the hall the statue of Silius the father, openly exposed to view, though his memory had been branded by an act of the senate, he shewed him the furniture and jewels that had formerly adorned the palaces of the Neros and Drususes, now become the reward of infamy and adultery. A.R. 799. A.C. 44.

The sight of them put Claudius in a passion. Narcissus, taking advantage of that favourable disposition immediately carried him to the prætorian camp, where the troops were drawn out ready to receive him. The emperor at his freeman's request made them a short speech, For *, though his anger strove for vent, shame kept it pent up. The soldiers, partaking their emperor's just indignation, unanimously called out to know the names of the accomplices, to inflict a speedy and severe punishment on them. Silius and several more are put to death.

Silius was first brought before the tribunal: there shewing a courage beyond what could have been expected from a man of his debauched principles, he attempted neither to justify himself, nor to gain time, but only begged to die as soon as possible. Several others, both senators and Roman knights, died with equal fortitude. Mnester was the only one that equivocated and attempted to make any defence. Whilst his cloaths were tearing off his back, he cried out, "He could not help "being criminal, he was forced to it; that "the emperor himself might remember he "had

* Nam etsi justum dolorem pudor impedieb t.

A.R.799. A. C. 48. had commanded him to obey Messalina in all things." Such was Claudius's weakness, that he was moved by what Mnester said, and ready to relent. But his freeman represented to him, how improper it would be to shew mercy to a stroller, after having proceeded with severity against so many persons of distinction; and that it was of little importance whether it was willingly or by force that Mnester had committed such enormous crimes. He was put to death. Nor was any regard paid to the plea of Traulus Montanus a Roman knight, a youth, whose conduct in other respects had been pretty regular; but who, having had the misfortune to please Messalina, had, at the request of that lascivious woman, been once only drawn into a party of pleasure with her. Plautius Lateranus was pardoned in consideration of his uncle's late services in the conquest of a part of Britain. Suilius Cæsoninus owed his pardon to the enormity of his vices, which degraded him beneath the rank of a human being.

Messalina's death. Messalina did not yet despair of saving her life, and being again received into favour. Retiring back to Lucullus's gardens, she meditated an apology and supplications to appease Claudius; and sometimes would break out in passions and threats against her enemies: such was her stubborn haughtiness even in the extremity to which she was then reduced. Her menaces might not have been without effect, had not Narcissus been diligent to prevent her. For Claudius returning to his palace, and sitting down to table, no sooner began to be a little warmed with wine and good cheer, but he ordered

ordered *that Wretch* (for that was his expres- A. R. 799.
sion) to be warned to prepare herself to answer A. C. 48.
the next day the accusations she was charged with. Narcissus found the prince's anger began to subside, that love was resuming its sway, and that not a moment was to be lost to prevent a reconciliation. He stept out, and commanded, as if in the emperor's name, a tribune and some centurions who were on guard, to go that moment and kill Messalina. Evodus a freeman went with them to see it performed.

They found her lying on the ground, and with her, her mother * Lepida †, who moved by her misfortunes was come to comfort her, though she would not see her during her prosperity. Lepida exhorted her daughter not to wait the coming of the murderers, representing that as life was at an end for her, an honourable death was the only thing she ought to think of. But, says ‡ Tacitus, a professed admirer of suicide, her soul, enervated by debauch, was no longer susceptible of any generous sentiment, and Messalina lost herself in useless tears and vain complaints. At that instant those who were sent to kill her arrived. The tribune advanced without speaking a word: the freeman, with a lowness of soul, suitable to his first condition, loaded her with reproaches and abuse. Then it was that Messalina found no

* Commentators have taken great pains to find out who this Lepida could be, but notwithstanding all their labour, it is still a matter of doubt.

† Quæ florenti filiæ haud concors, supremis ejus necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat.

‡ Sed animo per libidines corrupto nihil honestum manebat. Lacrimæque et questus irriti ducebantur

A. R. 799. A. C. 48. hopes were left, and taking up a sword, attempted in vain to stab herself. The tribune ran her through the body with his. Her mother was permitted to perform the last duties and see her buried.

Claudius's insensibility.

Word was brought Claudius, who was still at table, that Messalina was dead, but without telling him how she died. He enquired no farther about it, called for drink and finished his meal. Nor * did he in the following days shew the least symptoms of hatred, joy, anger, sorrow, nor any of the sentiments that usually affect human nature. Neither the triumph of his wife's accusers, nor the grief of his own children, could rouze him from his stupid insensibility: to which the senate rather added, by ordering every representation of Messalina's person, and all inscriptions relating to her, to be effaced or removed from whatever place they might be in, either public or private.

The ornaments of Quæstor was decreed Narcissus; a poor decoration for that freeman, whose † credit was then superior to that of Callistus or Pallas.

Claudius's marriages.

Messalina was Claudius's third wife; for I do not reckon two young ladies who were only betrothed to him. His first wife was Plautia Urgulanilla, whose father had merited the ornaments

* Ne secutis quidem diebus, odii, gaudii, iræ, tristitiæ, ullius denique humani affectus signa dedit, non quum lætantes accusatores videret, non quum filios mærentes.

† I read with Ryckius, *quum super Pallantem & Callistum ageret* The common editions instead of *super* have *secundum*, which changes the sense entirely.

naments of triumph in Illyria. It was by her that Claudius had that son who was promised in marriage to Sejanus's daughter, and who perished by a most extraordinary accident, as I have mentioned, under Tiberius. Plautia had likewise a daughter named Claudia; but she was the offspring of an adulterous commerce with one of her husband's freemen. The crime was discovered; and what is more, Plautia was suspected of being concerned in a murder. For both these reasons, Claudius repudiated her with ignominy, and exposed her daughter, a child of five months old at her door. He afterwards married Elia Petina, of the Tubero family, and by her had Antonia, whom he married, as I have said, first to Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and afterwards to Faustus Cornelius Sylla, after putting his first son-in-law to death. He divorced Elia for very slight causes, and took Messalina, whose conduct and well deserved tragical end, we have just been speaking of. A.R. 799. A. C. 48. *Suet. Claud.* 26, 27.

In his first heat of anger, occasioned by Messalina's excessive lewdness, haranguing the prætorian soldiers, he protested to them, That * since he was so unfortunate in his marriages, he would remain single all his life; and that if ever he married again, he gave them leave to turn their swords against him, and put him to death. But Claudius's resolves were not irrevocable. Accustomed to be governed by his wives, and in all things to depend on their wills, he could not relish a state After Messalina's death he is prevailed on to marry his niece Agrippina. *Tac. ann.* xii. 1.

* Quoniam sibi matrimonia malè cederent, permansurum se in cœlibatu; ac nisi permansisset, non recusaturum se confodi manibus ipsorum. *Suet.*

A.R.799. A. C. 48. state of life, in which he was obliged to decide for himself, and where he had no one to direct the management of his person and actions. His liberty was a burden to him. His freemen perceived it, and all agreed it was proper to look out a wife for him, but they differed in their choice. The prince's family was of course divided into opposite factions; but the greatest emulation was among such ladies as thought they had a right to aspire at that high rank. Each boasted her nobility, beauty, and riches, and depreciated her rivals. The candidates were at last reduced to three. Each of which was backed by one of the three most powerful freemen. Lollia Paulina was supported by Callistus; Elia Petina by Narcissus, and Agrippina by Pallas. As to Claudius, he inclined sometimes to one, sometimes to another, according to whatever had been last said to him. Unable to come to any final resolution, he held a council with his three freemen, and ordered each of them to lay before him the reasons why they were of different sentiments.

Narcissus spoke first, and said, "The alli-
"ance he proposed was not a new thing.
"That Elia had already been Claudius's wife,
"and had by him a daughter then alive.
"That consequently there would be no alte-
"ration in the imperial family by her return-
"ing to it; and that there was no room to
"fear, she would look with an evil eye on
"Britannicus and Octavia, who, next to her
"children, were her nearest relations." Callistus on the contrary maintained, "That it
"was by no means proper for the emperor to
"take

" take back a wife to whom he had given the A.R.799.
" strongest proofs of dislike by a long di- A. C. 48.
" vorce. That to take her again would swell
" her with pride. That it would be much
" better to marry Lollia, who, having no chil-
" dren of her own, would have no reason to be
" jealous of her husband's, and would be a mo-
" ther to them." Pallas, in his turn, reasoning on principles diametrically opposite, insisted strongly in favour of Agrippina. " That
" she had a son, who * might be considered as
" one of the supports of the Claudian and Ju-
" lian families, the splendour of both which
" was united in him! besides, added he, A-
" grippina has given proofs of fecundity, she
" is in the prime of youth: Is it proper to let
" her carry the glory and name of the Cæsars
" into another family?' These reasons prevailed, joined to Agrippina's caresses, who, as niece to the emperor, had liberty of seeing him at all hours.

Disgraced Silanus, destined to be Claudius's son in-law.

She was pitched upon, and Agrippina exercised the power of empress before she was his wife. For, from that instant, she projected to bring her son Domitius into Claudius's family, by marrying him to Octavia; but that plan could not be executed without a breach of faith; for that young princess had long been promised to Silanus. Some regard too was to be paid to Silanus himself. He was a man of the first distinction, and lineally descended from Augustus. In short, Claudius had, as it were, publicly declared his engagements with him, by granting him the ornaments of triumph,

* The text of Tacitus is very obscure here. I do not pretend to give this as a translation.

A.R.799. A.C. 48. umph, and giving the people a magnificent entertainment in his name. But * nothing was difficult to be done with a prince who having no sentiments of his own, was equally susceptible of impressions either of esteem or hatred, which ever those about him thought proper to give him.

Vitellius † acted his part on this occasion. A faithful worshipper of the rising sun, he joined Agrippina, and paid his court to her: masking under the name of censor, the servile artifices with which he attacked the character of Silanus, who in fact had a sister more renowned for beauty than for chastity. Vitellius ‡ insinuated odious suspicions of the friendship between the brother and sister, in which there was nothing criminal, though there might be some indiscretion: and Claudius gave ear to those insinuations, his tenderness for his daughter being easily alarmed by any reflection on his intended son-in-law.

Silanus dreamt of nothing less than what was plotting against him; he was prætor at that very time, and greatly surprized to find himself at once excluded the senate, in virtue of an order issued by Vitellius in quality of censor, though the list of senators had been drawn up, and the lustre closed several months before. At the same time Claudius retracted his promise,

* Sed nihil arduum videbatur in animo principis, cui non judicium, non odium, nisi indita et jussa. *Tac.*

† Vitellius nomine Censoris serviles fallacias obtegens, ingruentiumque dominationum provisor. *Tac.*

‡ Fratrumque non incestum, sed incustoditum amorem ad infamiam traxit: et præbebat Cæsar aures, accipiendis adversùm generum suspicionibus caritate filiæ promptior. *Tac.*

promise, and broke off the intended alliance. Silanus was obliged to abdicate the prætorship, and the remaining space he was to hold it for, which was only three days, was filled by Eprius Marcellus, a man of dangerous eloquence, of whom we shall have occasion to speak often in the course of this work. A.R. 799. A. C. 48. *Suet. Claud.* 29.

Thus ended this year. Pompeius and Veranius were Consuls for the next.

C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus, A.R. 800.
Q. Vetanius. A. C. 49.

The marriage agreed on between Claudius and Agrippina was no longer a secret under these consuls. Fame spread it about, and themselves did not conceal or make any mystery of it. Claudius, however, would not venture to celebrate the nuptials, because there was no instance of an uncle's marrying his brother's daughter. The idea of incest frightened him; he even feared that criminal union, should he go on with it, would draw down the wrath of the gods upon Rome. The celebration of Claudius's marriage with Agrippina deferred on account of their being related. Vitellius removes that difficulty.

Vitellius undertook to remove his scruples. He asked him whether he intended to resist the orders of the people, and the authority of the senate. Claudius answered, with a modesty really void of affectation, that he was himself but a citizen, and that the general consent of the nation was a law to him. Vitellius laying hold of that, went directly to the senate, to whom he declared he had something to propose, in which the welfare of the republic was nearly concerned; and having asked and obtained leave to speak before any other, he

set

A.R.800. A. C. 49. set forth that the labours and fatigues of a prince who bore the weight of government of the whole universe, required some aid and assistance, that free from domestice cares, he might be still more at liberty to watch over the welfare of mankind. "Now what aid, what assistance, added he, can better suit our august censor than a wife to share his fortune, to whom he can entrust his most secret thoughts, and on whose care and vigilance he can depend in whatever is proper and requisite for a young family? We have an emperor who is a stranger to luxury and voluptuousness: from his youth he has always respected and been submissive to the laws."

A discourse so specious was received with universal applause. Never had flattery a finer subject to descant upon. Vitellius, resuming his speech, "Since that is the case, gentlemen, and you all agree the emperor ought to marry, it is plain none but a person of distinguished nobility, fecundity and virtue, should be honoured with his choice. Which of us by this description can mistake Agrippina? And sure it is by a special providence of the gods that she happens now to be a widow, and by that means qualified to become the comfort of a prince, who knows not what it is to found his marriages on rapes and violence. Our fathers have seen * wives taken by force from their husbands, when Cæsar has pleased; and we ourselves have been witnesses to like events. Such outrages are far

* This alludes to Augustus's marriage with Livia, and Caligula's with Livia Orestilla, and Lollia Paulina.

" far from the moderation of that government A.R.800.
" under which we live. Claudius is worthy A.C. 49.
" to be an example to posperity how emperors
" ought to marry. Let it not be objected
" here, that marriages between an uncle and
" his brother's daughter are new to us. I own
" they are: but they are frequent in other
" nations. We ourselves * were long igno-
" rant of alliances between two cousins: custom
" ought to be subservient to the public wel-
" fare, and we shall soon see many exam-
" ples of what now appears singular.

The thing passed unanimously; and some of the senators, more arrant flatterers than the rest, added, that if the emperor hesitated, he must be forced to it, and left the senate as if they were really going to force him. At the same time, a mob that was gathered together, cried out, the people thought so too. Claudius was satisfied with this, and appeared in public to receive compliments on the occasion. Coming to the senate-house, he desired an act might be passed to permit uncles to marry their nieces. A decree was made accordingly; and yet, says Suetonius, only one or two imitated Claudius's example; and even they were thought to have been induced by Agrippina to marry according to this new law. *Suet. Claud.* 26

From

* I do not know whether what Vitellius advances here be strictly true. At least it is certain, that marriages between cousins were allowed in Rome above two hundred years before the time we are now speaking of; a proof of which may be found in Sp. Postumius's speech. Vol. viii. of the history of the Roman republic.

A.R.800. A. C. 49. From that * moment things wore another face. Every thing obeyed a woman who made a different use of the emperor and the empire from what Messalina had done. Her sway was bold and steady, like that of an imperious man. Agrippina's deportment spoke severity, and even haughtiness. No disorder, no licentiousness was suffered in her family, unless it were to serve her own ambitious views: for she did not blush to prostitute herself to Pallas, because that freeman's credit was necessary to her son's elevation, and to gratify her own insatiable thirst after gold, the effect of her strong desires to reign.

Agrippina governs; and how.

Tac. XII. *ann.* 25.

Silanus kills himself. *Suet. Claud.* 29.

The very day of their marriage, Silanus killed himself; either forced to it, as Suetonius says, or out of despair; chusing that day rather than any other, to render Claudius's injustice towards him the more remarkable and odious. His sister Junia Calvina was banished; and Claudius ordered sacrifices to expiate the pretended incest between the brother and sister, whilst himself was committing a real one with his niece.

Seneca recalled from banishment, and made preceptor to Agrippina's son.

Agrippina, willing to signalize her power other ways than by acts of tyranny only, recalled Seneca from banishment, and obtained a prætorship for him; concluding the public would be pleased at her doing good offices to a man of his extraordinary reputation for learning

* Versa ex eo civitas: et cuncta feminæ obediebant, non per lasciviam ut Messalinæ, rebus Romanis illudenti. Adductum et quasi virile servitium. Palam severitas, ac sæpius superbia: nihil domi impudicum, nisi dominationi expediret: cupido auri immensa obtentum habebat, quasi subsidium regno pararetur. *Tac.* XII. 7.

ing and eloquence. Besides that, she was de- A.R.800.
sirous to give so excellent a preceptor to her A. C. 48
son, whose education had been greatly neglect- *Suet. Ner.*
ed. For during the first years of his infancy, spent with his aunt Domitia, whilst his mother was in exile, he had had nobody to take care of him but two freemen, one of whom was a dancer, and the other a man who had kept baths. Agrippina's views in placing Seneca with his son, were likewise to enjoy the advantages of that great man's counsels, in order to set him on the throne; not in the least doubting *, but Seneca would have some rancour against Claudius, by whom he had been banished, and remember too to whom he owed his liberty.

Agrippina lost no time. The moment she was married, she engaged Memmius Pollio, consul elect, to propose to the senate to prevail on Claudius to fix Octavia's marriage with Domitius, Pollio had nothing more to do than to follow the example Vitellius had set him. He spoke in the same stile, and, in consequence of it, Domitius already son-in-law to Claudius by his wife, was chosen to be doubly so by marrying his daughter. From that hour he was on a par with Britannicus, and was considered as his equal: raised and supported by his mother's ambition, and the policy of those who, having accused Messalina, feared his sons revenge.

The marriage of young Domitius with Octavia resolved on.

It was not long before Lollia Paulina felt the wrath of Agrippina, who could not forgive her having dared to attempt to rival her with

Lollia Paulina banished, and afterwards put to death.

* Seneca fidus in Agrippinam memoria beneficii, et infensus Claudio dolore injuriæ credebatur. *Tac.*

A. R. 800. A. C. 49. *Tac. xii. ann. 22.* with Claudius. She suborned a witness, who accused Lollia of having consulted magicians, astrologers, and the oracle of Apollo of Claros, concerning her ambitious views. Claudius, without hearing Lollia, as was his custom, carried his opinion ready drawn up to the senate. He set forth all that could be said in favour of a lady of her great distinction, her birth, her name, the alliances of her family, suppressing however her marriage with Caligula. He then added, that she had blotted things contrary to the welfare of the state, and it was necessary to put it out of her power to become more criminal. He concluded with voting for banishment, which implied a forfeiture of all she possessed. Lollia was immensely rich. Pliny assures us, he had seen her wear on days of no great ceremony, jewels to the value of forty * millions of sesterces. She was allowed to take with her five † millions of sesterces. But this punishment, which did not fully satiate her enemy's revenge, was not all she suffered. Agrippina had her killed in her exile: such was the end of those odious rapines and extortions, by which her grandfather Lollius ‡ had strove to enrich his family, and raise it to the greatest splendour. Dion Cassius says, Agrippina caused Lollia's head to be brought her, and that she opened the mouth and examined the teeth, in which there was some particular mark, to be sure whether it was her's.

Plin. IX. 35.

* 320,000*l.*

Tac.

† 40,000*l.*

‡ *See Aug. Bank.* II.

Agrippina was implacable in her hatred, and whoever was the unhappy object of it, for whatever cause it might be, was sure to suffer. She caused Calpurnia, a lady of great distinction in Rome to be banished, only because Claudius

Claudius had chanced to praise her beauty in common conversation and without any design. A. R. 800. A. C. 49.

The Bithynians obtained this year the condemnation of Cadius Rufus their governor, who had vexed and harrassed them by his extortions; but they did not succeed so well against the intendant Junius Cilo, who was protected by Narcissus. They accused him with such heat and clamour, that Claudius, not hearing them distinctly, asked some one next him what they were saying. Narcissus, with a bold face, impudently answered, the Bithynians were praising Cilo, and thanking the emperor for giving them so good an intendant. "Well then, said Claudius, let him remain "two years longer in place."

Particular events. Narcissus laughs at Claudius impudently. *Dio.*

Sicily was at that time the only place excepted by the law that forbid senators going out of Italy without the prince's leave. The senators of Narbonnese Gaul obtained the same privilege for their province, in consequence of their attachment to, and respect for the Roman senate: and leave was granted them to go there whenever their domestic affairs required their presence.

Privileges granted senators who came originally from Narbonnese Gaul. *Tac. xii. ann. 23.*

Claudius revived the augur of safety, a ceremony I have spoken fully of under Augustus.

Augur of safety.

He enlarged the boundaries of the city, having acquired a right so to do by his conquests in Britain. * Augustus, and before him † Sylla, were very jealous of that honour.

The city enlarged. * *See book i. towards the end.*

Agrippina let Claudius amuse himself with these trifles, whilst she aimed at greater things. The next year, began by the consuls Antistius and

† *Hist. Vol. x. p. 203.*

A.R.800. A. C. 49. and Suilius, she got her son adopted by Claudius.

A.R. 801. A. C. 50.

C. Antistius Vetus.
M. Suilius Rufus.

Agrippina's son adopted by Claudius, and called Nero. *Suet. Ner.* c. 6.

She had formerly looked upon as an affront what her brother Caligula used to say to her out of a joke, that she ought to call her new born son after his uncle's name Claudius. Things were now greatly altered. Claudius, at that time the sport and ridicule of the court, was now became master of the empire, and the honour of bearing his name a step towards it.

Tac. XII. 25.

Agrippina, already indebted to Pallas for her marriage, still wanted his assistance in her son's adoption: she was too much devoted to him, not to find him ready to serve her on so important an occasion. The freemen solicited his master very strongly, pretending his only motive was his zeal for the public welfare, and for the interest of Britannicus, whose infancy required a support. He alledged the example of Augustus, who, though he had two grandsons, yet raised to honour and dignities his two sons in-law, Tiberius and Drusus; and the example of Tiberius, who, though, he had a son of his own, was glad to have another by adopting Germanicus.

The * weak emperor was not able to withstand so powerful an attack. Conquered by Pallas's ascendant over him, he declared to the senate his resolution to adopt Domitius, giving

* His evictus biennio majorem natu Domitium filio anteponuit, habita apud senatum oratione in eundem quema liberto acceperat modum.

giving him even, as Tacitus's expression im- A.R.801.
plies, the prerogative of elder brother to Bri- A. C. 50.
tannicus: and on this occasion he made a speech in which he repeated all that his freeman Pallas had put in his mouth.

The genealogists of those times observed there never had been any adoption in the Claudian family; but that it had been perpetuated by lineal descent from Atta Clausus. What is very singular is, that Claudius himself made that observation, and used often to repeat it, as if he had feared not to be sufficiently blamed for preferring his wife's son to his own. *Suet. Claud. 39.*

He was blamed, but in private. In public, the senate returned him thanks, and lavished all their flattery upon Domitius, who was solemnly adopted before an assembly of the people, with all the formalities prescribed by law, and who then received the names of *Nero Claudius Cæsar*. He was then in his thirteenth year, being born the fifteenth of December, in the year of Rome 788, and consequently was more than four * years older than Britannicus, whose birth we have fixed, after Suetonius and Dion Cassius, under his father's second consulship, in the year of Rome 793. Agrippina likewise received on this occasion of her son's adoption, an additional honour, the surname of *Augusta*. *Suet. Ner. 6.*

The hardest hearts bled for Britannicus on this † occasion. Forsaken by every body, hav- Britannicus forsaken by all

* Tacitus makes Nero but two years older than Britannicus. Concerning that difficulty, see M. de Tillemont note 1. on Claudius.

† Quibus patratis, nemo adeo expers misericordiæ fuit quem non Britannici fortunæ mœror afficeret. Desolatus

A.R.801. A. C. 57. ing hardly slaves allowed to wait on him, the young prince became the sport of a step-mother, whose forced caresses and pretended fondness could not impose upon him. For he was thought a youth of bright parts, whether it be, says Tacitus, that he gave any proofs of it, or that he owed that opinion to his misfortunes.

Suet. Claud. 27. What is most inconceivable in all this is, that Claudius really loved his son. Whilst an infant he would take him up in his arms, shew him to the soldiers, and harangue them, and to the people at all public places, tenderly recommending him to them, and joining his acclamations to those of the multitude, wishing the child all manner of prosperity. But Claudius could neither see nor think; objects made no impression on him, but during the very instant that they affected his senses: he can be considered in no other light than that of a mere automaton.

Cologne founded by Agrippina. *Tac.* XII. 27. Agrippina, desirous to erect a monument of her power, even among nations allied to the empire, settled a Roman colony in the city of the Ubians, a people of German origin, but brought on this side the Rhine by her grandfather Agrippa. The city was called from her, *Colonia Agrippina*, or *Agrippinensis*; but for many ages past, it has been called only Cologne, and the name of Agrippina suppressed.

Ti.

paulatim etiam servilibus ministeriis, per intempestiva noverca officia in ludibrium vertebat: intelligens falsi. Neque enim segnem ante fuisse indolem ferunt: sive verum seu periculis commendatus retinuit famam sine experimento. *Tac* XII. 26.

Ti. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus V. A.R.802. A.C. 51.
Ser. Cornelius Orfitus.

Claudius being called a fifth time with Orfitus, Agrippina hastened to make Nero take the virile robe, that he might be thought qualified for public employment. He was but in his fourteenth year, and fourteen years were to be completed before the infant dress was laid aside, as appears from the examples of Augustus's grandsons, Caius and Lucius Cæsar, who did not put on the virile robe till in their fifteenth year. The senate's flatteries likewise prevailed on Claudius to appoint Nero consul when he should be in his twentieth year: and in the mean time he was to rank as consul elect, and to enjoy the power of proconsul when out of the city, with the title of Prince of the Youth. Money was given the soldiers, and corn and other provisions to the people on this occasion, and in his name: and Britannicus appeared in the Circus in his infant dress, whilst Nero was clad in that of triumphers. This difference of dress alone sufficiently spoke the different destinies of the two young princes. At the same time such tribunes and centurions as seemed to pity Britannicus's hard fate, were removed under divers pretences. Even the freemen that were attached to him were taken away by Agrippina on the occasion I am going to mention.

Nero takes the virile robe; is appointed consul, and declared prince of the youth. *Tac.* xii. 41.

Nero, meeting his brother, saluted him by the bare name of Britannicus; the infant prince answered, calling him only Domitius. That

Agrippina removes all that were attached to Britannicus.

A.R. 802. A. C. 51. was enough to raise Agrippina's clamours. She ran immediately to Claudius, making a great noise, and complaining of the contempt shewn to his adoption: that an act made by the authority of the senate, and with the consent of the whole people, was set aside by a domestic tribunal of those that were about Britannicus: and that if such lessons were suffered to be given him, an enmity, fatal to the state, must ensue between the two brothers. Claudius * took for crimes whatever was represented to him as such, and accordingly banished or put to death his son's most faithful servants, leaving his step-mother to put his person and education into whatever hands she pleased. Sosibius, preceptor to Britannicus, shared the disgrace of all that were about the prince, and was put to death by Agrippina. A just reward for his obedience to Messalina's bloody orders, and the part he had acted to take away Valerius Asiaticus's life.

Dio. ap. Valesi.

She makes Burrhus præfect of the prætorian cohorts.

Agrippina's work was now in great forwardness; but still there was a difficulty to be got over. The prætorian cohorts were commanded by two creatures of Messalina's, Lusius Geta and Rufus Crispinus; and Agrippina apprehended they might yet retain some gratitude towards their benefactress, and attachment to her son. She represented to the emperor that two heads occasioned two parties; and that a more exact discipline would be observed among the guards, if commanded by one only. In consequence of that remonstrance, Geta and Crispinus

* Commotus his quasi criminibus Claudius. *Tac.*

Crispinus were broke, and Afranius * Burrhus put in their place. Burrhus had a great reputation for military knowledge, and was thought to be very strict and severe, but at the same time capable of remembering to whom he owed his fortune. A. R. 809. A. C. 51.

Agrippina, whilst she laboured for her son, laboured for herself too, taking care not to forget her own personal concerns. She obtained leave to enter the capitol in a car like those the priests were carried in, and on which all sacred things were deposited: that distinction added greatly to the respect that was before paid to a princess, who, by circumstances not to be parallelled in the Roman history, not hardly in any other, was daughter of a prince destined to the empire, and sister, wife, and mother of an emperor. Honourable prerogative granted Agrippina.

Vitellius stood in need of her protection at this time to screen him from an imminent danger: so frail and uncertain is the † fortune that seems the most firmly fixed. He was then in the highest favour, and pretty far advanced in years: yet was he accused by Julius Lupus of high treason, as aspiring at the empire. Claudius would have lent an ear to the accusation; if Agrippina had not talked to him, not in the tone of a supplicant, but warmly and even with menaces; forcing him to banish Lupus, which was all the revenge Vitellius desired. Vitellius accused.

* Transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrhum Afranium, egregiæ militaris famæ, gnarum tamen cujus sponte præficeretur.

† Adeo incerta sunt potentium res.

A.R.802. A. C. 51. It may be presumed Vitellius died soon after, for we find no farther mention made of him in history. I have nothing to add concerning him to what I have already borrowed from Tacitus, unless it be Suetonius's testimony, that his morals were as depraved as his flattery was low and abject, and that he was passionately fond of one of his free-women. The senate decreed him the honour of a public funeral, and a statue to be placed on the tribunal for harangues, with an inscription praising his unshaken fidelity to the emperor. PIETATIS IMMOBILIS ERGA PRINCIPEM.

His character concluded. *Suet. Vit.* 2, & 3.

Almost all Claudius's reign was afflicted with dearth and barrenness. The scarcity was very great this year: provisions of all kinds were excessive dear, and Rome was in danger of perishing by famine, for there was but just corn enough in the city to last a fortnight. The winter * providentially proved very mild and free from storms, so that ships could arrive pretty regularly with what was necessary for the support of the inhabitants.

Dearth in Rome.

Agrippina had now brought matters to bear very near as she would have them; and had little remaining to do, but to enjoy the fruits of her intrigues, of which I was willing to give the reader a connected account. I shall now return to my subject, and take notice of what foreign occurrence I have passed by, and what was doing by the various nations and kings, enemies to, or allies of the empire. The first I shall speak of are the Parthians

* Magna Deum benignitate, et modestia hiemis, rebus extremis subventum. *Tac.*

thians and Armenians, their interests and concerns being united with each other. A.R. 802 A. C. 51.

SECT. II.

Troubles and revolutions in the empire of Parthia. Mithridates the Iberian, again seated on the throne of Armenia. Fresh troubles in Parthia. Meherdates sent from Rome to reign over the Parthians, is defeated by Gotarzes. Vologeses king of the Parthians. Mithridates king of Armenia dethroned and put to death by Rhadamistus, his nephew, brother and son-in-law. The Romans behave poorly on that occasion. Vologeses makes his brother Tiridates king of Armenia. Adventure of Rhadamistus and Zenobia. Mithridates king of Bosphorus revolts, and is afterwards forced to surrender himself to the Romans. Particularities concerning Agrippa king of the Jews. His death. Posterity. Judea governed by the emperor's intendants. Cumanus intendant of Judea. Troubles under his government. The Jews driven out of Rome; and probably the Christians too. Tacitus's account of Cumanus's proceedings. Advantages gained over the Catti in Germany by Pomponius. Dissensions among the Barbarians beyond the Danube. Vannius dethroned. Ostorius's exploits in Britain. Caractacus is defeated, made prisoner, and carried to Rome. Continuation of the war. Death of Ostorius. Didius succeeds him, but performs no great exploits.

Troubles and revolutions in the empire of Parthia.

ARTABANES, the last king of Parthia of whom we have made mention, was always tottering on the throne. He had been

been driven out of his kingdom, and restored again, as Tacitus informs us. Josephus speaks of a new revolution by which he was forced to fly for shelter to Izates king of Adiabenum. Izates received him, and succeeded so well in his negociations with the rebel Parthians, that they consented to recal their fugitive king; accordingly he returned, but did not long enjoy his good fortune. He died soon after his restoration, leaving Gotarzes, one of his sons, to succeed him.

Joseph. Antiq. xx. 2. *Tac.* xi. *ann.* 8.

Gotarzes, inheriting his fathers's cruelty as well as his crown, put to death Artabanes *, one of his brothers, together with the wife and son of that unhappy prince. The Parthian nobility were alarmed at such a step, and fearing the same fate might befal them, concerted together and took measures for a revolt, at the same time sending for Bardanes †, another of Gotarzes's brothers, a prince remarkably brave and active, who probably then reigned in America. Bardanes, flew like lightening, and travelling a hundred and twenty leagues in two days, surprized Gotarzes, whose only safety was in flight. The conqueror was acknowledged

* I suppose, as the reader sees, two Artabanes, father and son. By that means I reconcile Josephus, according to whom Gotarzes was son of Artabanes, and Tacitus, who gives him a brother Artabanes.

† Tacitus does not say from whence Bardanes was fetched, doubtless because that was clear in the books we have lost. I suppose he reigned in Armenia, which then belonged to the Parthians: but that is only a bare conjecture. He may, with the same probability, be thought to have reigned in Media, which was often the portion of a younger brother of the family of the Arsacidæ. Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius 1. 21. seems to favour this last sentiment.

acknowledged by the neighbouring satraps; but very injudiciously was obstinately bent on the siege of Seleucia on the Tigris, which refused to obey him. Seleucia was a strong place, well provided with provisions and ammunitions of all kinds: and held out so long, that Gotarzes had time to raise a powerful army among the Hyrcanians and other people of that country: and Bardanes was forced to raise the siege to march against his brother.

Great bloodshed was expected to be the consequence of this quarrel, which however was ended peaceably, to the surprise of every one. Gotarzes discovering treason and treachery carrying on in both armies, give Bardanes intelligence of it. The two brothers, notwithstanding their mutual mistrusts, had an interview, in which they promised each other, swearing at the foot of the altars to keep their words, to take revenge on their enemies, and leave their pretensions to the throne to be decided by arbitration. Bardanes was judged most deserving of it, and Gotarzes, to avoid all suspicion of intending to rival his brother, betook himself to the forests of Hyrcania. By this means Bardanes became peaceable possessor of the throne of the Arsacidæ, and on his return the Seleucians opened their gates to him. His courage and ambition immediately suggested to him the design of recovering Armenia, of which Mithridates had again possessed himself, taking advantage of the intestine divisions of the Parthians.

Mithridates brother to Pharasmanes king of Iberia, himself made king of Armenia in Tiberius's reign by the Roman influence and protection, Mithridates the Iberian again seated on the throne of Armenia.

Tac. tection, a prisoner at Rome under Caius, was sent into the east by Claudius in the first year of that emperor's reign, and the 792d of Rome. On his arrival there, he found his dominions usurped by the Parthians. He was obliged to wait a favourable opportunity, which did not offer till seven years after, in the year of Rome 798, under Claudius's fourth consulship, to put himself once more in possession of them. That oportunity was, as I have just said, the civil war that broke out between the two brothers, Gotarzes and Bardanes. Whilst the Parthian forces were divided and employed against one another, Mithridates, supported by the Romans and Iberians, entered Armenia, drove out Demonax, the Parthian governor, and soon recovered the whole country, the Romans taking towns for him, whilst the Iberian cavalry scoured the plains. Coty's whom Caligula had made king of the Lesser Armenia, attempted to rival Mithridates, and had his partizans; but was at once stopt by peremptory orders from Rome, and Mithridates was unanimously acknowledged. The Romans took care likewise to guard against any attacks from Bardanes, not by barely ordering him to refrain, for that the Parthian king had paid no great regard to, but by threatening to chastise him in case of disobedience. Vibius Marsus governor of Syria, sent him notice, that if he attempted to disturb Mithridates, he must expect a war with the Romans. Bardanes was forced to comply; the more so, as another peril more imminent and more immediately aimed at him, gave him at the same time strong alarms. Gotarzes soon repented having so readily

Fresh troubles in Parthia.

dily yielded up a crown: and wished for by the nobility, who in time of peace are most apt to feel the weight of servitude, he began the war again. Bardanes, therefore, was obliged to guard against the danger that was most urgent, and to provide for his own safety before he could think of making conquests.

This time the difference was decided by arms. A bloody battle was fought near a river Tacitus calls Erindes: and Bardanes gaining the day, thought it not enough to beat and disperse his brother's army; but following his advantages, made conquests towards Hyrcania, subduing nations till then strangers to the Parthian law. Nor was his progress stopt but by the difficulties he met with from his own subjects, tired of making war at such a distance. Erecting therefore monuments of his victory on the borders of the river Gindes, which divides the Dahans and Arians, he returned home more absolute than ever, but at the same time more proud and haughty, and consequently more odious. The Parthians could not bear his pride, a conspiracy was soon formed against him, and he was killed, as he was taking the diversion of hunting *, in the flower of his youth, though not before he had acquired a reputation, by which he would have equalled the oldest of kings, had he known how to gain the love of his subjects, as well as he did how to make his enemies fear him.

Gotarzes's hopes revived with Bardanes's death. Many were inclined to favour him; but

* Primam intra juventam, sed claritudine paucos inter senum regum, si perinde amorem inter populares, quam metum apud hostes quæcivisset. *Tac. ann.* XI. 10.

Meherdates sent from Rome to reign over the Parthians, is defeated by Gotarzes.

but others, who had not yet forgot his former cruelties, were for Meherdates, son of Vonones, and grandson of Phrataes, and at that time hostage at Rome. Gotarzes, being on the spot, prevailed. But instead of endeavouring to wipe off the bad impressions his former conduct had made, by behaving with mildness and equity, he seemed on the contrary to study how to strengthen and increase them. The consequence was, that Meherdates's friends found means to send to Rome, desiring to have that prince for their king.

Tac. ann. xii. 10.

Tacitus says it was in the year of Rome 800, that the deputies of the male-content Parthians had an audience of the senate. To justify the step they took, they said, they were not ignorant of the treaties subsisting between the Roman empire and the kings of Parthia; nor any ways pretended to rebel against the family of the Arsacidæ; but that they were come to request a prince of that royal blood, to oppose the tyrant of Gotarzes, equally insupportable to the nobility and the people. They painted his cruelties in the strongest colours; that he spared neither brothers, relations, nor strangers: that he put to death women big with child, and their husbands; infants with their fathers; whilst himself, given up to idleness and effeminacy, worsted in all the wars he undertook, endeavoured to conceal his shame and cowardice by barbarity. "Our nation, "added they, has long been united to your "empire: and it behoves you to assist allies "whose forces might rival your's, but that "out of respect they allow you the pre-emi-"nence. We give you the sons of our kings

"as

" as hostages, to the end, that when we chance " to be ill governed, we may have recourse to " the emperor and Roman senate, and receive " from them kings of their forming, used to " their manners, and therefore more worthy " to reign."

Claudius, in answer, extolled the Roman grandeur, priding himself greatly on the homage the Parthians paid to him: and comparing himself to Augustus who had given them a king. But he made no mention of Tiberius, whose odious name sullied the glory he had been a sharer in. Meherdates being present, Claudius thought proper to give him some advice how he should behave. " Do " not * think, said he, you are to act like a " master ruling over slaves. Let the Parthians " find a protector in you, and do you consider " them as fellow-citizens. Justice and cle- " mency will make you so much the more " respected by them, as they are virtues un- " known to barbarians."

Then turning towards the Parthian deputies, he launched out in praise of the prince, boasting the education he had received in Rome, and the mildness and good qualities he had till then given proofs of. Adding, that they ought † however to bear with their kings, though they might

* Ut non dominationem et servos, sed rectorem et cives cogitaret: clementiamque ac justitiam, quanto ignara barbaris, tanta gratiora ‡ caposseret. *Tac.*

† Ac tamen ferenda regum ingenia, neque usui crebras mutationes. Rem Romanam hac satiare gloriæ proveetam, ut externis quoque gentibus quietem velet. *Tac.*

‡ The text says *tolerariora*, which does not seem proper here. I have followed Freinchemius's emendation.

might have some faults, and that frequent changes of that kind were always detrimental to a state. "Be not surprised, said he, that "I give you this disinterested advice. Rome, "satiated with glory and conquests, has at- "tained that pitch of superiority, that she "now is glad to see peace and tranquillity "reign in other nations." C. Cassius, governor of Syria, was ordered to conduct the new king as far as the Euphrates.

Cassius, whom we are not to * confound with him that married Germanicus's daughter, Drusilla, in Tiberius's reign, was a man of merit: and as the profound peace the empire enjoyed, afforded him no opportunity of improving his military talents, he had applied himself to the study of the civil law, in which he excelled.

When, in quality of governor of Syria, he had the command of the army, he strove to acquit himself of his duty with distinction. He exercised the legions as much as he possibly could in times of peace, and restored the ancient discipline among them: he took care to keep the troops as active and vigilant, as if the enemy were every hour to be expected: in short, he did all that was in his power to keep up the honour of the name he bore, still renowned in those countries, ever since the brave exploits by which the famous Cassius, Cæsar's

* Germanicus's son-in-law's prename was *Lucius*, and this *Caius*. But what most distinguishes them, is the difference of their characters. Lucius had more mildness and affability than genius or talents. *Facilitate sæpius quam industria commendabatur*, says Tacitus, *ann.* vi. 15. Caius would have shone if he had had opportunities.

Cæsar's murderer, had distinguished himself there.

The commission he was ordered to execute with regard to Meherdates, was not difficult; but yet he performed it like a man of judgment. He sent for the Parthian nobility who were on his side, and going to Zeugma on the Euphrates, delivered their king into their hands, giving him an excellent piece of advice when he took his leave. He told him, "That the barbarians were all fire at the be-"ginning of an enterprize, but that if they "were not immediately led on to action, they "soon grew cool, and the zeal that animated "them at first, was apt to change into per-"fidy and treason. That he therefore ought "not to lose a moment, but advance with all "possible diligence against the enemy."

Meherdates was young, without experience, and imagined, that to enjoy pleasure and luxury, was one of the prerogatives of royalty. A traitor, finding him in that disposition, soon made him slight and despise the Roman governor's advice. Abgares, king of the Arabs of Edessa, detained him several days in the city, by the feasts and diversions he gave him.

In the mean time Carrhenes, chief of the male-contents, having assembled an army, sent Meherdates word all was ready, and that if he would come directly and join them, there was reason to hope for the greatest success. The young prince committed a second fault on this occasion: and instead of crossing the plains of Mesopotamia, got in among the mountains of Armenia, where winter was already coming on. There he had to struggle with

with the badness of the roads, and the snow that had fallen, before he could join Carrhenes in the plain.

They crossed the Tigris together, took Ninive *, the ancient capital of the Assyrians; and Arbela, famous for the victory Alexander gained there over Darius, by which the Persian empire was totally overthrown. Izates †, the Adiabenian, whose country he was to pass through, joined his forces to theirs. A faithless ally, who pretending friendship for Meherdates, was in his heart a favourer of Gotarzes.

Gotarzes was willing to render the gods propitious before he marched against the enemy. He went to a mountain called *Sambulos*, to offer up his prayers to the divinities of that place, and particularly to Hercules, who was greatly revered there. The priests took care to feed the credulous superstition of the people by a pretended miracle, which Tacitus relates very seriously, and without expressing the least suspicion of fraud. The god, says he, at certain stated times, warns the priests in their dreams to have horses in readiness for him, to hunt in the neighbourhood of the temple. The horses, loaded with quivers full of arrows, run up and down the forests, and return at night, tired, and their quivers empty. The god informs the priests in another dream, what parts of the forests he has hunted in, and there

* The great Ninive had been destroyed several ages before by Arbaces, but a new city had been formed out of its ruins, and was called by the same name.

† This prince had embraced the Jewish religion, according to Josephus, but he does not seem to have been the honester man for it.

there they find the bodies of the wild beasts he has killed. So Tacitus relates the matter, without taking notice of their priestcraft in hunting under the name of Hercules.

Gotarzes, whose strength was inferior to Meherdates, kept on the other side a river Tacitus calls Corma, refusing to accept the battle that was frequently offered him, spinning out and protracting matters, during which time he was endeavouring to debauch his rival's allies. He succeeded with Izates and Abgares, who then threw aside the mask and led their troops off: a common effect * of the fickleness and inconstancy of those barbarians, who chose rather to apply to Rome for their kings, than to keep them when they had them.

Meherdates, fearing the desertion of those two princes might induce others to follow their example, urged the fight more strongly than ever: and Gotarzes, whose courage was increased by the diminution of his enemy's forces, did not now decline it. The two armies engaged, and victory was a long time doubtful. The brave Carrhenes performed wonders, putting to flight all that opposed him. But his valour carrying him too far in pursuit of those that fled, without thinking to secure his retreat, he was surrounded and cut off. With him perished all Meherdates's hopes, who, to crown his misfortunes, trusted to a traitor, by whom he was put in irons, and delivered up to Gotarzes. The conqueror ordered his ears to be cut off, but spared his life, that he might

* Levitate gentili, et quia experimentis cognitum est Barbaros malle Romæ petere reges, quam habere.

might be a monument of his clemency, and of the Roman shame.

Gotarzes died soon after, Tacitus says, by sickness; but according to Josephus, by a conspiracy of his subjects. He was succeeded by Vonones, who had reigned over the Medes, and might be his brother. Vonones's reign was but short, nor did any thing remarkable happen in it. His son Vologeses succeeded him.

Vologeses king of the Parthians.

Towards the beginning of Vologeses's reign, that is to say, about the year of Rome 802, a new revolution happened in Armenia, of which the Parthians took advantage to set up again their claim to that crown. Mithridates was in possession of it, as I have said, and might have enjoyed it peaceably, had not a dangerous enemy sprang up in his own family. He had always lived in harmony and good intelligence with his brother Pharasmanes, king of Iberia. But Pharasmanes had a son, who was devoured by ambition, and could not brook the private station in which he was obliged to live.

Mithridates king of Armenia, dethroned and put to death by Rhadamistus, his nephew, brother and son-in-law. *Tac. ann.* XII. 43.

Rhadamistus, (that was the young prince's name,) adding to an extraordinary strength and size of body, an uncommon dexterity in all the exercises used in those countries, and having already acquired some reputation even in remote parts, suffered impatiently an aged father's keeping him so long out of possession of the kingdom of Iberia, which even if he had it, still seemed too small to satisfy his desires. As he made no mystery of it, but publicly talked in that audacious manner, Pharasmanes fearing he should find in his son a rival, who had

had the advantages of the vigour of youth, and the love of the people, resolved to turn Rhadamistus's views and expectations towards Armenia, which he represented to him as a prey more worthy him. "It was I, said he, "that drove the Parthians out of Armenia, "and gave it Mithridates. Take back a con- "quest made by your father's arms. But first "try what you can do by cunning: it is not "yet time to use force."

Mithridates was brother and son-in-law to Pharasmanes: consequently the design of dethroning him implied a complication of crimes. But ambition knows no crime in whatever is necessary to attain its end. Rhadamistus pretending to quarrel with his father, and that he could not bear a step-mother who hated him to death, retired to his uncle, who received him with open arms, and treated him as his own son. The treacherous nephew, pursuing his plan, privately sounded some of the chief Armenians, and spirited them up to rebel, whilst Mithridates, not in the least suspecting what was carrying on, studied to promote and advance him. It was probably at that time that he made him his son-in-law, giving him his daughter Zenobia * in marriage. Some time after Rhadamistus pretending his father was reconciled to him, returns to Iberia, and tells Pharasmanes, that all that could be done underhand was completed, that matters were

* I find no mention made in history of any other wife of Rhadamistus's but Zenobia: now it is certain Rhadamistus was son-in-law to Mithridates; whence I conclude, Zenobia was most probably daughter to the latter.

ripe, and force of arms was now requisite to crown the enterprize. Pharasmanes trumped up some frivolous pretence to declare war against his brother, and sent his son into Armenia at the head of an army. Mithridates taken unawares, and attacked by treachery and violence at the same time, could not possibly resist, but was forced to shut himself up in the castle of Gorneas, in which the Romans kept a garrison.

The Iberians were too ignorant a people to have any notion of the proper methods of forming sieges, in which the Romans on the other hand were well skilled. Rhadamistus would of course never have been able to force the citadel, and make himself master of Mithridates's person, had not the Roman governor, Cælius Pollio, had a venal soul. One Casperius, a centurion, opposed the shameful bargain as long as he could: but finding his endeavours vain, thought the best thing he could do was to bring about a suspension of arms, during which he might have an opportunity of summoning Pharasmanes to withdraw his troops; or, if that was refused, of soliciting succours from Numidius Quadratus, governor of Syria. Casperius's absence left Pollio at liberty to proceed in his base designs. He pressed Mithridates strongly to enter into an agreement, but not being able to get the better of his well-grounded fears and apprehensions, he induced the soldiers of the garrison to mutiny, to insist on capitulating, and to declare, that if he did not, they would abandon a post they could hold no longer. Mithridates was under a necessity of yielding to such

such menaces: the time and place for an interview were agreed on, and he left the fortress.

The moment Rhadamistus perceived him, he ran to meet him, embraced him with the utmost tenderness, and made a thousand protestations of respect and obedience to him as to a second father. He swore too that he would never use sword or poison to hurt him; and at the same time forcing him into a neighbouring wood, where, said he, every thing was prepared to offer up a sacrifice to the gods, and take them to witness the peace they were going to conclude.

The kings of those countries observed a very singular ceremony in the treaties they made with one another. They gave each other the right hand, the two thumbs of which were then tied together so tight, that it stopt the circulation of the blood. They then pricked the ends of their thumbs, and each of them sucked the blood that run out. Nothing was more sacred among them than those treaties, sealed with the blood of the contracting parties.

On the occasion we are speaking of, the man who was to tie the two prince's thumbs pretended to fall, and catching hold of Mithridates's knees, threw him on the ground. Others ran immediately to help, to put him in irons. He was dragged away like a criminal in the sight of an infinite number of spectators, who, to be revenged on him for the severity of his government, loaded him with insults and reproaches. Some, however, were concerned to see so deplorable a change of fortune. His

wife

wife and children followed, filling the air with their cries and lamentations.

Rhadamistus kept his prisoners till he could receive his father's orders concerning them. Pharasmanes knew no difficulty in committing crimes; nor did he hesitate a moment between a crown and the lives of his brother and daughter: only he did not chuse to see them die, and therefore bid his son dispatch them on the spot. Rhadamistus, not to break his oath, would have them killed neither by sword nor poison, but ordered his uncle and sister to be smothered between two feather-beds. Mithridates's sons were likewise put to death for bemoaning the fate of those to whom they were indebted for life.

The Romans behave poorly on that occasion.

The Romans could not avoid taking notice of this event; for they had made Mithridates king of Armenia. Quadratus, therefore, held a council of the chief officers of his army, to consult what was proper to be done in those circumstances. Few of them seemed touched by any consideration of the glory of the empire: but in general influenced by a timid policy, were of opinion it was best to let things take their own course. They pretended "that "every crime committed by foreigners ought "to be a subject of joy and gladness to the "Romans. That it was even necessary to "sow the seeds of discord among all barba-"rians, as the Roman emperors had often suc-"cessfully done, and more particularly with "regard to Armenia. That Rhadamistus "was welcome to enjoy what he had so ille-"gally required. That it was more advan-

"tageous

" tageous to the Romans for him to become " king of Armenia by a crime that made him " hated and detested, than if he had gained " that crown by fair means." This opinion prevailed. Yet even those who had given it, being sensible of the shame it must reflect on them, resolved to do something to save appearances, and therefore sent Pharasmanes orders to leave Armenia, and take his son with him.

Julius Pelignus, intendant of Cappadocia, behaved still worse than the governor of Syria. Pelignus was a low arrogant coward; whose very appearance, fit only to excite laughter, was quite of a piece with his groveling soul. By these qualifications it was that he gained Claudius's friendship, who not knowing what to do with himself for a long time, used to amuse himself with buffoons, and be very fond of them. Pelignus, however, talked of great matters, and acted the man of importance when these disturbances happened in Armenia. He raised soldiers in his province, and putting himself at their head, marched on to dethrone Rhadamistus, said he. But those raw, ill-disciplined troops, rather a burden to their allies than a terror to their enemies, deserted on the road, and Pelignus came up with Rhadamistus in extreme bad plight. The subtile barbarian at once saw through the foible of the Roman intendant, who, gained over by his presents, so far forgot his dethroning scheme, that on the contrary, he exhorted him to take the diadem, and was present at the ceremony to give it a sanction.

It is needless to observe how much this conduct dishonoured the Romans. Quadratus, in order to wipe off the ignominy, dispatched Helvidius Priscus, one of his lieutenants, at the head of a legion, with orders to use all proper means to calm the disturbances. That officer having passed mount Taurus, began to do his duty extremely well, mixing mildness and moderation with severity and firmness; but he was soon recalled, for fear of his bringing on an open war with the Parthians.

Vologeses makes his brother Tiridates king of Armenia.

For Vologeses, remembering his ancestors had possessed Armenia, thought that a favourable opportunity to recover it from a prince who had usurped it by violating the most sacred laws. He undertook, therefore, to drive Rhadamistus out, and to set Tiridates, one of his brothers, on that throne, that he might by that means be as well provided for as his other brother Pacorus, who reigned in Media. He thought it a fine thing for each branch of his family to wear a crown.

The bare sight of the Parthian army put the Iberians to flight without even drawing a sword. The cities of Artaxates and Tigranocertes submitted. But a very hard winter, want of provisions, and sickness occasioned by that want, obliging Vologeses to retire, Rhadamistus returned again to his prey, and treated the Armenians with extraordinary severity, looking on them as rebels still ready to forsake him when ever an opportunity should offer.

Adventure of Rhadamistus and Zenobia.

Accustomed as the Armenians were to slavery, yet Rhadamistus's tyranny was beyond bearing. They rose, took up arms, and laid siege to the palace. This was done so suddenly, that Rhadamistus

Rhadamistus had barely time to save himself by flight. Taking two of his best horses, he mounted one, and set his wife Zenobia on the other, and without any attendants whatever rode away as fast as they could go. But Zenobia being then with child, though at first supported by her courage and extreme love of her husband, yet in her condition could not possibly bear a long journey. Reduced to the utmost extremity, she begged of him to preserve her from the outrage and insults of captivity, by an honourable death. Rhadamistus embraced, comforted and encouraged her; one moment admiring and extolling her virtue, and the next, struck with jealousy, and the apprehension of her falling into the hands of some lawless ravisher, should he leave her. At last, the violence of his passion prevailing in his heart inured to crimes, he drew his dagger, stabbed her, and dragging her to the river Araxes, left her to the mercy of the waves, that even her dead body might not fall into the hands of any one. Then continuing his journey, he arrived in Iberia.

Zenobia was still alive, and the tide carrying her to a place where the water was pretty shallow and calm, she was seen by some shepherds who were tending their flocks thereabouts. Her beauty and the magnificence of her dress made them judge her a person of great distinction. They took her out of the water, dressed her wound, and gave her all the assistance that country-folks like them could do. Recovering her by degrees, and learning from her her name, and the misfortune that had befallen her, they conducted her to Artaxates, where

where Tiridates received and entertained her honourably.

Tac. ann. xiii. 6, & 37.

Rhadamistus would not yet give up all hopes of Armenia. That crown was the subject of continual wars between him and Tiridates, in which their good and bad success was alternate: until at length Rhadamistus met the reward of all his crimes, being put to death by his father Pharasmanes's order for conspiring against him. This happened after Nero's accession to the Roman empire.

Rhadamistus's death still did not pacify the troubles of Armenia. The Romans behaved with more vigour under Nero, than they had done under Claudius, and would no longer be spectators only of what was doing in that country. Thence arose great disputes between them and the Parthians, of which we shall take notice in its proper place.

Mithridates king of Bosphorus revolts, and is afterwards forced to surrender himself to the Romans.

The Bosphorus gave Claudius some uneasiness, which at last ended to his satisfaction. He had made, as I have already said, Mithridates, a descendant of the famous prince of that name, who kept the Roman arms so long employed, king of that country. The king of Bosphorus, of a turbulent ambitious disposition, having attempted to sow dissentions, was driven out of his dominions by the Romans, and his brother Cotys put in his place.

Tillem. Cl. art. 22. Tac. ann. XII. 15.

Mithridates, though a fugitive and dethroned, still kept up his courage. He visited all the barbarous nations in those parts, at first to seek an asylum, and next to spur them on to espouse his quarrel, and help him to recover his kingdom. He succeeded so far as to form an army, but beyond that all his efforts were fruitless and

and unsuccessful. Vanquished and destitute of all resource, he at last resolved to throw himself into the arms of Eunones, king of the Adorsi, who had joined the Romans against him; and undertook to make that prince his intercessor with Claudius.

Without any previous notice he presented himself to Eunones, in a condition suitable to his deplorable situation: and embracing his knees, "You * see before you, said he, Mithridates, whom the Romans have so long "sought in vain. Use as you think proper "the heir of the great Achæmon. That title "is the only advantage of which my enemies "have not been able to strip me." Eunones, moved at the condition of so noble a supplant, and admiring the fortitude he still preserved in the midst of his misfortunes, raised him up with affection, praised the confidence he put in his generosity, and promised to use his interest with the Roman emperor. And accordingly he wrote to Claudius, imploring his clemency in favour of Mithridates, who was ready to submit to any terms, desiring only his life, and to be spared the ignominy of being led in triumph.

Claudius was naturally disposed to be merciful to foreign princes. But he was piqued against Mithridates, and remained some time in suspense, whether he should accept his offers, and promise his life, or whether he should pursue him, till by force of arms he had made himself,

* Mithridates, terra mari que Romanis per tot annos quæsitus, sponte adsum. Utere ut voles prole magni Achæmenis quod mihi solum hostes non abstulerunt. *Tac.* XII. 18.

himself master of his person, then to take an exemplary revenge on him. His council represented the difficulties attending a war in so wild a country as that about the Palus Meotis, and the small advantages that could possibly accrue from it. He acquiesced therefore in their sentiments, and answered Eunones, "That Mithridates deserved the most severe "punishments, and that the Romans did not "want power to inflict them on a rebel. But "that * it had always been a maxim at Rome "to treat a suppliant with as much lenity, as "they did their enemies, when armed, with "severity and rigour. That as to the tri-"umph, that was a thing that implied a vic-"tory over kings and nations who had resisted; "but that a fugitive, who had no place where "to shelter himself, no resource left, was by "no means an object worthy of it."

Mithridates was carried to Rome, and when he appeared before the emperor, still retained the same haughtiness of spirit. Claudius speaking to him in a menacing tone, he answered, "I † was not sent to you, but returned of my "own accord. If you doubt it, restore me "my liberty, and try whether you can take "me again." He bore his humiliating state with an air of intrepidity, and appeared not at all disconcerted, when being placed near the tribunal for harangues he was shewn as a sight to the mob. This event belongs to the year of Rome 800.

The

* Ita majoribus placitum, quanta pervicacia in hostem, tanta beneficentia adversus supplices utendum.

† Non sum remissus ad te, sed reversus: si non credis, dimitte & quære.

The death of Agrippa king of the Jews, which happened in the year of Rome 795, occasioned an alteration in the state of Judea. But before I speak of that, it is proper I should finish what remains to be said of Agrippa, whom I have often had occasion to mention. I have already observed how much he was attached to the religion of his fathers, and how fond he was of shew and magnificence, even to excess. The following is an instance of his mildness.

Particularities concerning Agrippa king of the Jews. His death.

Joseph. antiq. xix. 7.

Though a strict observer of the Jewish institutions, yet he intermixed with them some practices that savoured of the Pagan superstition: giving shews and entertainments after the Roman fashion, and even combats of gladiators. The zealous Jews were not satisfied with his manner of devotion; and one of them, called Simon, assembling the people at Jerusalem, whilst Agrippa was at Cæsarea, launched out into invectives against that prince, strongly insisting he ought to be forbid the entrance of the temple. Agrippa being informed of this insolence, sent for Simon, and gave him an audience, in the theatre, making him sit next to him: then with great mildness and moderation asked him, Whether any thing he saw there was contrary to the law? Simon fearing if he persisted in his former opinion, it might be attended with bad consequences, or perhaps flattered by the distinction the prince had shewn him, begged his pardon, intreating his forgiveness. Agrippa not only pardoned, but dismissed him with presents.

Agrippa was what we should call a worldly man, who believed in the law of Moses, but did

did not think it incompatible with the gratification of his pleasures and passions. The light of the gospel which began to shine very bright in his kingdom, did not strike his distempered eyes, but on the contrary made him still more blind. He was the first prince that persecuted the church. It was he that put to death St James, brother to St John, and who, finding cruelty was pleasing to the Jews, imprisoned St Peter, with a design to put him likewise to death, had not God delivered him by a miracle.

Act. Ap. c. 12.

Joseph.

It was not long before Agrippa felt the effects of divine vengeance. At the games he celebrated at Cæsarea in honour of Claudius, he made his appearance in a robe of silver tissue so bright, that when the sun shone upon it the eyes of the spectators were quite dazzled: and whilst he was speaking to the Tyrians and Sidonians, who were come to deprecate his wrath for some offence they had committed, the flatterers about him cried out, his voice was the voice of a god, and not of a man. At that instant he was seized with a violent pain in his bowels, and immediately finding his distemper mortal, he rejected the impious flatteries of his sycophants: but still full of false ideas of human grandeur, though death was inevitable, he comforted himself with the remembrance of the splendour in which he had lived. After suffering the most exquisite torment for five days, during which no remedy gave him any ease, he died eaten up by worms.

His posterity. Joseph.

He left a son of his name, who was then at Rome with Claudius, seventeen years old; and three daughters, the eldest of which was Bere-

nice

nice, so famous for her amours with Titus: the other two were called Mariana and Drusilla. Claudius would willingly have given young Agrippa his father's kingdom. But his freemen and the members of his council represented to him, that an extensive kingdom was too great a burden for so young a prince to bear, in consequence of which Judea was annexed to the empire, and an intendant appointed to govern it, in the same manner as had been done towards the end of Augustus's reign, and during Tiberius's. Cuspius Fadus was the first intendant of Judea after Agrippa's death.

Judea governed by the emperor's intendants.

His government was very peaceable, no disturbances of any consequence happened in it. He punished an impostor called Theudas, who had drawn a prodigious mob about him, by promising to conduct them over the river Jordan dry-footed. They were soon dispersed by some troops Fadus sent, and their ring-leader being taken, had his head cut off. False prophets began to appear in Judea about this time, as Christ had foretold they would, and prepared the ruin and desolation of their nation.

Joseph. antiq. xx. 3.

Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Jew, nephew to Philo, succeeded Fadus. He likewise kept the country under his direction quiet and peaceable; and was particularly careful to prevent whatever might tend to disturb the public tranquillity. The sons of Judas the Galilean, who forty years before had attempted to spirit up the people to rebel against the Romans, followed their father's footsteps. Tiberius Alexander had them arrested and crucified.

Joseph. antiq. xx. 3. 4, & 5.

Act. c. 5. v. 37.

He

Cumanus intendant of Judea. Troubles under his government.

He was succeeded in the year of Rome 799, by Ventidius Cumanus, under whom the troubles began, and from that time Judea enjoyed hardly any rest, till the utter destruction of that country.

Joseph.

The first disturbance happened during the feast of the passover, through the insolence of a Roman soldier. The intendant having sent for all the troops under his command to be in readiness to appease any sedition that might happen, which he apprehended from the prodigious number of Jews who came to celebrate that feast at Jerusalem, the mutineers were struck with such terror, that they thought of nothing but flying away to save themselves: but as the streets and passages were narrow, and the multitude immense, twenty thousand Jews were crushed to death.

A spirit of sedition had ever prevailed among the Jews. Some of the most hot-headed of them killed one of the emperor's slaves on the high-way, and robbed him. Cumanus punished the murder with military execution, sending troops to plunder and lay waste the country where it was committed. In the plunder, a soldier chancing to find the books of Moses, tore them publicly to pieces. The Jews, inflamed at this impiety, went in a great body to ask justice from the intendant, who was then at Cæsarea. He was advised to quell the growing sedition, by ordering the soldier to be executed: and accordingly the riot subsided.

Joseph. Antiq. xx. 5. *& de B. Jud.* ii. 11.

The old hatred between the Samaritans and Jews gave rise to a third disturbance, which was very near bringing on a war. The Galileans

leans had used to go through Samaria in their way to the feasts that were celebrated at Jerusalem. As they generally marched in companies, the Samaritans lay in ambush for them, and a battle ensued, in which several Galileans were killed. The chief people of Galilee made their complaints to Cumanus, who, bribed by the Samaritans, took no notice of them. This refusal of justice greatly incensed the sufferers. The whole body of Jews espoused their quarrel, in a cause wherein the sacred mysteries of their religion were invaded. They ran to arms, notwithstanding the remonstrances of their elders and the chief magistrates of their nation; and calling in to their assistance Eleazer, the head of a gang of robbers, plundered some Samaritan towns, putting all to fire and sword. Cumanus assembled his troops, and a battle was fought, in which several Jews were killed, and as many more taken prisoners. The alarm reached Jerusalem. The chiefs of the city foreseeing how great the danger was, put on sackcloth and ashes, and by entreaties, prayers, and remonstrances, at last prevailed on the rebels to lay down their arms. Eleazer fled to his usual places of shelter, and from that time, Josephus says, Judea was infested with bands of robbers.

The war indeed was ended by that means, but the quarrel was not yet made up. The Samaritans, probably in concert with Cumanus, laid their grievances before the tribunal of Numidius Quadratus governor of Syria, who thought proper to go to the spot, the better to be able to form a judgment of what had past. He found all parties guilty, but treated

them very differently. The Jews that were taken armed were ordered to be crucified, and Ananias the high-priest, with his son Ananus, who held a considerable post, were sent in irons to Rome. As to Cumanus and the Samaritans, he would not take upon him either to condemn or acquit them, but ordered them to Rome, there to plead their cause in person before the emperor. They were very near coming off triumphant, through the credit of the freemen, whose interests they had taken care to secure. But the Jews found a zealous protector in young Agrippa, who solicited Agrippina strongly in their favour. Whoever had Agrippina was sure of Claudius. Three of the principal Samaritan chiefs were condemned to death, and Cumanus banished.

The Jews driven out of Rome. *Tillem. H. des J. art. 34.*

The judgment I am speaking of could not be given before the year of Rome 803; and M. de Tillemont is of opinion, it was in the same year that the Jews were driven out of Rome by Claudius's command, which seems a natural consequence of the troubles that happened in Judea.

And probably the Christians too. *Oros.* vii. 6.

It is highly probable that the Christians, whom they then confounded with the Jews, shared the same fate, and that must be what Suetonius means by this vague and obscure expression: "Claudius * drove the Christians "out of Rome, because they, urged on by "Chrest, were tumultuous." The most learned of the Pagans at that time, and even long after, held the Christians in too great contempt to think of enquiring into their doctrines, or informing

* Judæos impulsore Chresto tumultuantes Roma expulit. *Suet. Claud.* 25.

informing themselves what they really were. The number of Christians began however to encrease about this time in Rome, for St Peter's first visit to them was ten years before that, in the year of Christ 42, and of Rome 793. *Tillem. Eccles. Hist. St Peter.*

In what I have related concerning Cumanus I have followed Josephus, whom we may suppose well acquainted with what concerned his own nation. Tacitus, speaking of the same events, adds circumstances that cannot be reconciled with what the Jewish historian says. He tells us that Felix, brother to Pallas, and likewise one of Claudius's freemen, was intendant of Samaria at the same time that Cumanus had Judea: that in the difference between the Samaritans and Jews the two intendants were equally guilty of mal-administration and rapine. That Quadratus, going there to settle peace and quietness in the country, and being ordered by Claudius to examine into and judge the conduct of the intendants, did not dare venture to sit as judge over Pallas's brother, and that he even made Felix sit down among Cumanus's judges: by which means * the latter only suffered for what both had been equally guilty of. Tacitus's account of Cumanus's proceedings. *Tac. ann. xii. 54*

It is plainly impossible to reconcile Tacitus with Josephus in this place: and yet one cannot think so judicious a writer as Tacitus could advance a fact attended with so many circumstances, without any foundation for it. There is certainly some truth in what he says, though it be out of our power to set it right.

* Damnatusque flagitiorum, quæ duo deliquerunt Cumanus.

What is evident is, that Felix was not a bit better than Cumanus, and that when he succeeded him as intendant of Judea, he behaved there with the authority of a king, and the genius of a slave, and tyrannized over that unhappy country to such a degree, that the revolt of the Jews, and all the misfortunes and woes that ensued, may in a great measure be imputed to him. But of that we shall speak more fully hereafter. It is time now to return to the West, and give the reader an account of what Tacitus informs us was doing on the Rhine, the Danube, and in Britain.

Advantages gained over the Catti in Germany by Pomponius. *Tac.* xii. *ann.* 27.

On the Rhine, L. Pomponius Secundus, who commanded the legion in Upper Germany, in the year of Rome 801, beat the Catti, checked their incursions, and forced them to sue for peace, and to give him hostages. What adds to the glory of Pomponius's victory is, that he restored to freedom, after forty years servitude, some of those the Germans had made prisoners when they defeated Varus. He obtained the ornaments of triumph: a decoration * he did not stand in need of, says Tacitus, to make him known to posterity, to whom the beauties of his tragic writings were a much stronger recommendation. We have lost those tragedies, on which Quintilian seems not to have set so high a value as Tacitus; all † he praises in the author of them being his learning and elegance; but does not think him tragic

* Jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. *Tac. Hist. V.* 9.

† Modica pars famæ ejus apud posteros, in quis carminum gloria præcellit. *Tac.*

‡ Pomponium secundum senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore præstare consitebantur. *Quintil. Instit. Or.* x. 1.

tragic enough. The younger Pliny gives us an instance of the confidence that poet had in, and the deference he paid to, the judgment of the public. When his friends criticised any thing in his performances, and he could not acquiesce in their opinions, he would say, "I appeal to the * people;" and as he found the spectators affected by it, either altered such passages, or let them remain. This is the same Pomponius who was kept seven years in prison by Tiberius, and during his captivity amused himself with poetry. *Plin. ep.* vii. 17.

The peace of the countries bordering on the Danube was interrupted by some commotions of the neighbouring barbarians: but the Romans interfered no farther in them, than just to prevent the flame from spreading to places under their obedience. I have already said, that Vannius was appointed by Drusus son of Tiberius, king of the fugitive Suevi, who followed Maroboduus and Catualda in their retreat into the Roman territories, and who had the country between the rivers, we call the March and the Waag, beyond the Danube, assigned them for their habitation. Vannius reigned there peaceably upwards of thirty years: but at last a revolution happened, owing either to the despotic pride of the prince, or the restless intractable tempers of his subjects. Two of Vannius's nephews headed the revolt, and were supported by Jubillius, king of the Hermunduri, Dissentions among the barbarians beyond the Danube. Vannius dethroned. *Tac. ann.* xii. 29.

* This expression alludes to the appeals that were made to the judgment of the people, in the republican times, in matters where the parties thought themselves injured by the magistrates.

munduri *, by the Ligians, and other German nations. Vannius implored in vain the assistance of Claudius, who only offered him an asylum in case of accidents, but would by no means agree to interpose the Roman arms in a quarrel between those barbarians. P. Attelius Hister, governor of Pannonia, was indeed ordered to encamp a legion along the Danube, with a body of militia raised in the province, to shelter the conquered, and stop the conquerors, if they attempted to pass the river.

Vannius therefore was forced to sustain the war with his own forces, assisted by the Sarmatian † Jazygi, with whom he still was not equal in number to the enemy. He endeavoured to avoid a battle, by shutting up his troops in strong places. But the Jazygi, who fought only on horseback, could not bear that manner of making war. The two armies engaged, and though Vannius was worsted, yet he gained great honour in that action by his valiant behaviour. He got on board the Roman fleet that covered the Danube; his friends followed, and settled with him in the lands allotted them in Pannonia. His nephews Vangio and Sido divided his kingdom, and remained ‡ firmly attached to the Romans. But they did not preserve the love of their subjects: whether it was through any fault of theirs, or that it was owing to the common fate of all arbitrary

* The Hermunduri inhabited between the Danube and the Sala: the Ligians towards the Vistula.

† The Jazygi here spoken of lived on the borders of the Teissa.

‡ Egregia adversùs nos fide subjectis, suone an servitii ingenio, dum adipiscerentur dominationes, nullâ caritate, et majore odio postquam adepti sunt. *Tac.*

arbitrary governments, as much as they were beloved whilst they were endeavouring to establish themselves, so much were they hated and detested when their dominion had once taken root.

Britain was the place where the Romans performed the greatest exploits under Claudius's empire. I have already related how a part of that island was conquered by the emperor, or rather by his lieutenant A. Plautius. Plautius was succeeded in the year of Rome 798, by Ostorius Scapula, who not only kept, but added to his predecessors conquests. Soon after his arrival he was suddenly attacked by a violent irruption of the Britains bordering on the Roman province, who chose to make a strong push just at that time, when a new general, with an army he was not yet acquainted with, should have the enemy and the rigours of winter, for it was in that season, to oppose at once. Ostorius, * sensible how much a general's reputation depends on his first success, and of what infinite consequence it is in war, immediately marched out to meet the barbarians, cut to pieces those that resisted, dispersed the rest, and pursued them to prevent their joining again: and in order to secure a lasting peace, he set about disarming those he had any reason to suspect, and † guarded the passages

Ostorius's exploits in Britain. *Tac. ann.* xii. 31.

* Gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni.

† Tacitus is obscure, and perhaps faulty in this place. I follow Camden's opinion, who observes that two rivers form a natural barrier from west to east; the one formerly called *Ausona major*, now *Nen* or *Nyne*, runs towards the east: the other, which is the *Ausona minor*, now *Avon*, runs westward, and falls into the Severn, so that to go from the north to the south of Britain, one of those two rivers must necessarily be crossed.

passages of the Nyne and Severn, so that all communication was cut off between the people north of those two rivers, and the Roman province.

The Icenians, who inhabited the parts now called Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge and Huntingdonshires, refused to submit to these laws, and to give up their arms. Their refusal was just and legal, because they had entered voluntarily into the Roman alliance, without being conquered or forced to it. The Icenians were joined by other nations, and all together formed a considerable army, and entrenched themselves advantageously. Ostorius gave them battle, and notwithstanding the disadvantage of ground, and the brave resistance of the enemy, he gained a complete victory. His son merited the honour of the civic crown in this action. The defeat of the Icenians struck a damp on others, who hitherto balanced between peace and war, and kept them within bounds.

Ostorius penetrated after that pretty far into the island. He entered the territories of the Cangi, who lived in the north part of Wales; and was not far from the Irish sea, when the motions of the Briganti * brought him back nearer the middle of the island. For he † was firmly resolved not to attempt any new conquests, till he had well secured those already made. The Briganti were soon pacified. But the Silures ‡ gave him full employ: they were a stub-

* They occupied the whole breadth of the island, from the Eden in Cumberland to the Humber.

† Destinationis certum, ne nova moliretur, nisi prioribus firmatis.

‡ The Silures dwelt between the Severn and the Irish sea.

a stubborn haughty nation, not to be tamed by rigour or clemency, but defended their liberty with an invincible obstinacy. Ostorius, before he marched against them, settled a colony of veterans at Camolodunum, in the country of the Trinobanti, which his predecessor had subdued. That was a means * to keep those parts in awe, a resource against rebellions, and might be considered as a centre from whence the Roman manners and customs might spread, and be communicated to people but newly subdued. Securing the countries he left behind him by means of this colony, Ostorius advanced against the Silures, who waited firmly his coming.

They were full of confidence in their own strength, and besides that, depended greatly on Caractacus, who, ever since Plautius's first landing in Britain, had defended his country's liberty with various success, but still with a courage and resolution that had never drooped, by which he had acquired the reputation of being the greatest warrior in the isle. Caractacus had joined them, and report had given them still more allies, so that their army was very numerous. Nor were they less formidable for the ardour and courage that sparkled in every soldier's eyes, to that degree, that the Roman general was astonished, and could not without some difficulty be induced to give them battle. His troops were forced to insist loudly, crying out, they were sure of victory, which Ostorius took for a happy presage.

Nor

* Subsidium adversus rebellis, et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum.

Caractacus is defeated, made prisoner, and carried to Rome.

Nor was he deceived in his expectation. The Roman army surmounted every difficulty, crossed a river, forced a retrenchment of the enemy's, badly, though strongly made, and possessed themselves of the high grounds where their adversaries had posted themselves. The Silures were entirely defeated; and the wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus made prisoners. Himself was obliged to fly to the dominions of Cartismandua queen of the Briganti. But the * unfortunate find few faithful friends. Cartismandua, who had promised him safety, had him arrested and gave him up to the Romans, the ninth year after the beginning of the war, which was in the year of Rome 802.

The glory of his name had spread beyond the isle, it had reached Italy and Rome itself. Every one longed to see the man who had so many years bid defiance to the utmost efforts of the Roman power: and Claudius still added to his reputation, by endeavouring to add to the merits of his victory. For he wanted to triumph as it were over Caractacus. The people were invited as to a most magnificent sight. The prætorian cohorts under arms were ranked along the plain before their camp. Then appeared a long train of vassals and dependants of the captive king. The gorgets and other military ornaments, and all the spoils Caractacus had gained in his wars with various people of Britain, were borne in triumph. Next came his brothers, wife, and daughter. Last of all himself appeared with a majestic air

* Ut ferme intuta sunt adversa.

air and undaunted countenance. The rest humbled themselves before the emperor, and with tears implored his mercy: but Caractacus behaved and spoke like a hero.

"Had I * but known, said he, how to preserve as much moderation in my prosperity, as my fortune has been great and splendid, I might have come to this city as a friend to the Romans, rather than as their captive: nor would you have disdained the alliance of a prince descended from an ancient race of kings, and himself king over several nations. My present fate is as glorious to you, as it is melancholy to me. I had horses, arms, riches and subjects. Can you wonder that I was unwilling to lose them? Though you would rule over every nation of the earth, does it thence follow that all ought to submit to servitude? Had I yielded without resistance, neither my fate nor your honour would have been so glorious as they now are: even now my death would soon be forgotten: whereas, if you spare my life, my name will be an eternal monument of your clemency."

With

* Si quanta nobilitas et fortuna mihi fuit, tanta rerum prosperarum moderatio fuisset, amicus potiùs in hanc urbem, quam captus venissem: neque dedignatus esses claris majoribus ortum, pluribus gentibus imperantem, fœdere pacis accipere. Præsens sors mea, ut mihi infirmis, sic tibi magnifica est. Habui equos, viros, arma, opes. Quid mirum, si hæc invitus amisi? Num, si vos omnibus imperare vultis, sequitur ut omnes servitutem accipiant? si statim deditus traderer, neque mea fortuna neque tua gloria inclaruisset: et supplicium mei oblivio sequetur. At si incolumem servaveris, æternum exemplar clementiæ ero.

With the ancients the conquered were always guilty, and to spare their lives was an act of generosity. Claudius pardoned Caractacus and his family. Their chains were taken off, and they paid Agrippina, who was seated under a canopy pretty near the emperor's tribunal, the same homage they had done to Claudius. It was quite a novelty to the Romans to see a woman at the head of the troops, sharing the honours of military command. Agrippina did not in the least scruple to look upon herself as copartner in an empire her ancestors had formed.

The senate being afterwards assembled, each strove who should most extol a victory that equalled, said they, the glory of Scipio's over Syphax, of Paulus Emilius's over Perseus, and of the greatest generals who had shewn the Roman people kings conquered and loaded with chains. Thus much is very certain, that Caractacus was a prince highly estimable for his courage and nobleness of soul. Visiting Rome, he was struck with admiration at the sight of the magnificent palaces with which that capital of the universe was filled. "What, "said he to the Romans that were with him, "can you who have such fine places of your "own, covet the huts of the Britons?"

Zonar.

Continuation of the war.

The ornaments of triumph had been decreed Ostorius for his victory over Caractacus; but the event was not answerable to his first great success. Whether it be that Ostorius grew less active and vigilant, thinking his work quite done when he had taken Caractacus; or that the misfortune of that great prince had kindled a desire of revenge in the hearts of the

Death of Ostorius.

the Britons, the war was continued with more heat and obstinacy than ever. The Silures were remarkably stubborn, and an expression the Roman general chanced to drop, animated them still more. They were informed Ostorius had said, that as the Sicambri had been destroyed and the remains of them transported into Gaul, so, no peace was to be expected in Britain till the Silures should be totally extirpated. Finding therefore they had no favour to expect, the Silures grew desperately courageous and bold, gained several advantages over the Romans, and dividing the spoils with their neighbouring nations, engaged them likewise in the defence of their common liberty. Ostorius took it so much to heart, to see a war he thought ended, break out again, that grief and vexation brought on a distemper of which he died. The barbarians triumphed at it, as having conquered a general, who, though indeed he was not killed in battle, yet war had been the cause of his death.

Tacitus in his life of Agricola, tells us that Ostorius made an alliance with a British king called Cogidunus, and that he increased that prince's dominions, giving him several towns: an * old policy among the Romans, who made kings themselves subservient to the views of establishing their superiority over others. Cogidunus ever remaining stedfastly attached to them. *Tac. Agr. 14.*

Didius succeeded Ostorius. But the Romans were again worsted in the interval between his predecessor's death and his arrival. The Silures *Didius succeeds him, but performs no great exploits.*

* Vetere ac jampridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et Reges.

Tac. ann. xii. 40. Silures defeated a legion commanded by Manlius Valens. Didius and the Britons concurred equally to make the defeat be thought greater than it really was: the Britons, with a view to intimidate the new general if they could; and Didius, that he might have an excuse ready, in case he should not succeed; and that it might add to his reputation, if at last he did conquer those haughty enemies. Didius performed no great exploits. All he did was to check the incursions of the Silures, who seemed to have secured the possession of their liberty.

Tac. ibid. & Hist. iii. 45. He could not avoid taking part in a civil war that broke out among the Briganti. Cartismandua *, queen of that nation, having merited the protection of the Romans, by the service she had done them in giving up Caractacus, grew considerably more powerful than she had been before. She consequently grew richer; and riches of course produced luxury and a depravity of morals. Venusius was her husband, and was thought the best warrior the Britons had next to Caractacus. Despising him, she preferred his equerry, Vellocatus. Thence arose two parties. Venusius, backed by the bulk of the nation, maintained his right to the throne; and Cartismandua finding she must be overpowered, had recourse to the Romans.

* I unite here, as M. de Tillemont has done the two different passages, one of the twelfth book of the annals, the other of the third of the history, wherein Tacitus speaks of Cartismandua and Venusius. The circumstances plainly denote the same fact, though the dates be not the same. In this contrariety I keep to the annals which were Tacitus's last work.

mans. Didius thought himself obliged to espouse her cause, and in fact delivered her from the danger she was in. But Venusius had the kingdom; and the Romans the war to carry on.

This is pretty nearly all that Didius atchieved in Britain. He was old; his ambition was satisfied with the honours he had before acquired. He therefore remained quiet, and let the Britons govern themselves as they thought proper; only taking some little towns, to be able to say he had extended the boundaries of his province. The sequel of the Roman wars in Britain belongs to Nero's reign. Tac. Agr. 14.

SECT. III.

Affair of Furius Scribonianus, and his mother Junia. Law against women who should prostitute themselves to slaves. Abject flattery of the senate towards Pallas. Representation of a naval fight on the lake Fucinus. Defects of the works intended to drain that lake. Nero's marriage with Octavia. He pleads several remarkable causes before the emperor. Agrippina causes Statilius Taurus to be accused: he kills himself. Judiciary power granted the emperor's intendants. Favours granted the people of the isle of Cos, and the Byzantines. Memorable instance of a dreadful death. Claudius begins to suspect Agrippina. She kills Domitia. Narcissus thinks of opposing Agrippina, but miscarries. Claudius dies poisoned

poisoned by Agrippina. Instances of Claudius's imbecility. His cruelty.

THE reader must have observed, how different the Romans were grown from what they had formerly been with regard to their foreign wars: and yet, that was their most shining part, during the times of which I am writing their history. They kept up, though feebly, some part at least of the glory of their ancestors; but within themselves, in all that was transacted in Rome, they were totally degenerate. We find nothing but cruelty and tyranny in those who were possessed of power, and the most abject slavery in those that obeyed them. My readers must expect to find little else in what remains for me to relate, resuming the affairs of Rome with the consulship of Faustus Sylla and Salvius Otho, one of whom was son-in-law to Claudius, having married Antonia after the violent death of Pompeius Magnus, first husband to that princess, and the other seems to have been elder brother to the emperor Otho.

A.R. 803. CORNELIUS SYLLA FAUSTUS.
A.C. 52. L. SALVIUS OTHO TITIANUS.

Affair of Furius Scribonianus, and his mother Junia.

Under these consuls, Furius Scribonianus, son of Camillus Scribonianus, who several years before attempted to revolt against Claudius in Dalmatia, was accused of having consulted astrologers concerning the prince's death, and accordingly was banished. Claudius thought he did him a favour, and prided himself greatly on that his second instance of generosity to-

Tac. ann. xii. 52.

wards

wards the heir of a family at enmity with him. Furius did not long enjoy the pretended favour: death, either natural or caused by poison, soon ended his banishment and life. His mother Junia was at the same time accused of the same crime. Formerly banished as an accomplice with her husband, it was thought her impatience to see an end of the hardships she had suffered several years, induced her to join her son. Tacitus does not say what punishment she met with: probably she was left in her exile. The old laws to drive all astrologers out of Italy were revived on this occasion, and the senate made a very severe decree against them, but to no purpose. A. R. 803. A. C. 52.

Another disorder engrossed the senate's attention. A law was past inflicting very severe penalties on all women who should prostitute themselves to slaves. That was shewing a most laudable zeal and care to preserve good morals. But the consequence of that decree reflected infinite dishonour on the illustrious body by whom it was made. Law against women who should prostitute themselves to slaves.

Claudius telling the senators that Pallas was the man who first put him on reforming so scandalous an abuse, their servile adulation was prostituted beyond all bounds. The ornaments of prætor were decreed Pallas, and the emperor was desired to oblige him to wear a gold ring; for, * says the younger Pliny with a scornful irony, it would have been a reflection on the senate to see a man, who ranked as ancient prætor, with an iron ring on his finger. In short, a gratification of fifteen Abject flattery of the senate towards Pallas. *Tac. ann.* xii. 53. *Plin. ep.* vi. 6. viii.

* Erat enim contra majestatem senatus, si ferreis (annulis) Prætorius uteretur.

A. R. 803. A. C. 52. fifteen * millions of sesterces was likewise decreed him: and he who first proposed these low, these abject flatteries, was a senator whose morals and gravity are praised in history, Barea Soranus, at that time consul elect, and who afterwards fell a victim to Nero's cruelty. Even a Scipio did not blush to say, he thought Pallas intitled to the thanks of the whole body, for that he, being descended from the ancient kings of Arcadia, was pleased for the public good, to forget the prerogatives of so ancient a nobility, and was content to be considered only as one of the prince's ministers.

That was not all. Pallas affecting a pretended modesty, which Pliny justly terms an insolent arrogance †, was satisfied with the honour, but refused the money; and protested by the mouth of Claudius, his interpreter, he was resolved to remain in his present state of poverty. Flattery had here an ample field to display itself. A decree was drawn up reciting the whole affair. As Pliny has preserved it, the reader may perhaps not be displeased to see it.

It was there said, "That ‡ the senate, in "the name of Pallas, returned Cæsar thanks "for

* *One hundred and twenty thousand pounds.*

† Arrogantius fecit, quam si accepisset.

‡ Pallantis nomine senatus gratias agit Cæsari, quod et ipse cum summo honore mentionem ejus prosecutus esset, et senatui facultatem fecisset testandi erga eum benevolentiam suam, ut Pallas, cui se omnes pro virili parte obligatos fatentur, singularis fidei, singularis industriæ fructum meritissimo ferat. . . . Quum senatui populoque Romano liberalitatis gratior representari nulla materia posset, quam si abstinentissimi fidelissimique custodis principalium opum facultates adjuvare conti-

" for the honourable mention he had been A.R.803.
" pleased to make of his services, in a speech A. C. 52.
" addressed to that body, by which he had af-
" forded the senate an opportunity of testify-
" ing their good will towards him, to the end
" that Pallas, to whom all in general, and
" every one in particular, thought themselves
" greatly obliged, might reap the just rewards
" of his extraordinary fidelity, and indefati-
" gable labours. Adding, that as the senate
" and Roman people could never have a finer
" opportunity of shewing their generosity and
" liberality, than by adding to the fortune of
" him who kept the prince's treasures with
" the utmost integrity and fidelity, the senate
" had been desirous to decree him a gratifica-
" tion of fifteen millions of sesterces; and that
" the

gisset, voluisse quidem senatum censere dandum ex ærario sestertium centies quinquagies; et quanto ab ejusmodi cupiditatibus remotior ejus animus esset, tanto impensius petere a publico parente, ut eum compelleret ad cedendum senatui. Sed quum princeps optimus parensque publicus, rogatus a Pallante, eam partem sententiæ quæ pertinebat ad dandum ei ex ærario centies quinquagies sestertium, remitti voluisset, testari senatum, se libenter ac merito hanc summam inter reliquos honores, ob fidem diligentiamque Pallantis, decernere cœpisse; voluntati tamen principis sui, cui in nulla re fas putaret repugnare, in hac quoque re obsequi. . . . Utique, quum sit utile, principis benignitatem promptissimam ad laudes & præmia merentium, illustrari ubique et maxime iis locis quibus incitari ad imitationem præpositi rerum ejus curæ possent, et Pallantis spectatissima fides atque innocentia exemplo provocare studium tam honestæ æmulationis posset, ea quæ quarto Kal. Febr. quæ proxime fuissent, in amplissimo ordine optimus princeps recitasset, senatusque consulta de his rebus facta in æs inciderentur, idque æs figeretur ad statuam loricatam divi Julii. *Plin.*

A.R. 803. A. C. 52. "the more the minister's soul seemed raised above all desire of riches, the more they had thought it incumbent on them to intreat their common father to oblige Pallas to yield to the senate's wish. But that the best of princes, and true father of his country, insisting, at the request of Pallas, that the article of the decree relating to the gift of fifteen millions of sesterces, might be struck out, the senate declared it was with great willingness, and for very just reasons, they had decreed that sum to Pallas, together with such other honours as were due to his zeal and fidelity: but that they submitted nevertheless to the prince's will, which they thought it not lawful for them to resist." This heap of falsity and flattery was concluded with an expression that crowned the whole. "And as it is highly proper, said they, that the goodness of a prince, ever ready to bestow rewards and praises on such as deserve them, should be made known to all, and more especially to those who have the administration of his treasures in their hands, and in whom the approved fidelity of Pallas, and his disinterestedness, ought to excite a laudable emulation, the senate ordains, that the speech made by the emperor on the 29th of January to that body, and the resolutions taken in consequence thereof, be graved on a plate of brass, to be exposed to public view, and fixed upon the statue of Julius Cæsar."

This decree was put in execution; and a resolution of the senate was published in Rome

Rome *, by which a freeman possessed of three hundred † millions of sesterces was praised for his disinterestedness, and proposed as an example of the ancient love of poverty. Pallas himself took care to transmit to posterity the memory of an honour so justly deserved, causing the following inscription to be put on his tomb: "Here lies ‡ Pallas, to whom as a "reward for his fidelity to his masters, the "senate decreed the ornaments of prætor, "and a gratification of fifteen millions of ses- "terces, but he was content with the honour."

A. R. 803. A. C. 52.

Plin. ep. xxix. l. vii.

Pliny makes abundance of reflections on this occasion: I shall mention but two of them. "What could induce the senators, says he, "to behave in so strange a manner, but am- "bition and a desire to advance themselves? "And is it possible § there could be a man so "vile, so lost to all sense of shame, as to want, "at the expence of his own honour and the "honour of the republic, to be promoted in "a city where, the greatest, the highest rank "a citizen could aspire to, was, to be the first "in the senate that praised Pallas?"

Pallas's epitaph was what first gave Pliny a curiosity to examine into this affair, and set him upon

* Fixum est ære publico senatus consultum, quo libertinus sestertii ter millies possessor antiquæ parsimoniæ laudibus cumulabatur. *Tac.*

† *Two millions four hundred thousand pounds.*

‡ Huic senatus, ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos, ornamenta prætoria decrevit, et sestertium centies quinquagies: cujus honore contentus fuit. *Plin.*

§ Sed quis adeo demens, ut aut per suum, aut per publicum dedecus, procedere vellet in ea civitate, in qua hic esset usus potentissimæ dignitatis, ut primus in senatu laudare Pallantem posset. *Plin. ep. 6. l.* viii.

A.R.803. upon searching for the resolutions and decree
A. C. 52. of the senate. Speaking of the epitaph, he says, "I * never was an admirer of honours "that are more frequently the gift of fortune "than the effect of merit. But especially "the inscription I have just been reading, tho- "roughly convinces me how vain and des- "picable they are when offered to the most "worthless of men; to a miscreant wretch "who had the insolence to accept some and "refuse others, that he might have an oppor- "tunity of setting himself up for an example "of moderation to posterity."

Representation of a naval fight on the lake Fucinus.

† *Lake of Celano.*

‡ *The Garigliano.*

Tac. ann. xii. 56, 57.

Suet. Claud. 21.

Dio. l. lx.

It was now twelve years since they had been constantly at work by Claudius's order, to make a drain to empty the lake Fucinus †. To that end a mountain had been dug through between that lake and the Liris ‡. Claudius thought the work finished this year, and in order to draw together as many witnesses and admirers as he could of his great and wonderful labours, he resolved to exhibit a representation of a sea-fight on that same lake. Augustus had formerly given the people a diversion of that kind in a bason dug on purpose near the Tiber; but he had made use only of small vessels, and but few. Claudius fitted out gallies § with three and four rows of

* Equidem nunquam sum miratus quæ sæpius a fortuna quam a judicio proficerentur. Maxime tamen hic me titulus admonuit, quam essent inimica et inepta quæ interdum in hoc cœnum, in has sordes abjicerentur, quæ denique ille furcifer & recipere ausus est & recusare, atque etiam, ut moderationis exemplum, posteris prodere. *Plin. ep.* 29. *l.* vii.

§ Authors are not agreed, how many gallies were employ-

of oars, on board of which were nineteen thousand fighting men; all convicts under sentence of death: which to me appears very extraordinary, unless it be supposed that for several years past they had been collecting them from every province of the empire: and even then we must imagine most of them condemned for slight causes. How perverse soever human nature may be, yet it cannot be easy to collect nineteen thousand criminals upon whom the law has justly passed sentence of death. However that may have been, they were divided into two squadrons; one was called the Sicilian, the other the Rhodian. A.R. 803. A.C. 52.

The sides of the lake were lined with boats and small vessels to prevent the combatants running away; leaving them however room enough to fight, tack about, and perform all their operations. On board those lesser barks or kind of guard-ships, were put the prætorian cohorts, divided into companies, and sheltered with strong nettings, matrasses, and other inventions to preserve them from being hurt.

The borders of the lake, and the hills and mountains round it, naturally forming a kind of amphitheatre, were covered with an infinite number of spectators from the neighbouring towns and cities, as well as from Rome, led thither, some by mere curiosity, and others to pay their court to the emperor.

Claudius

ed on this occasion: Tacitus mentions no number, Dion Cassius says a hundred, and Suetonius only four and twenty. I shall leave others to determine this point; and shall only observe, that if there were nineteen thousand fighting men, as Tacitus says there were, twenty-four gallies could hardly contain them.

A.R.803. A.C. 52. Claudius, having Nero with him, presided over the sight, dressed in a magnificent suit of armour, and at a little distance was Agrippina likewise in the dress of a warrior; the stuff was a tissue of gold, unmixed with any other material.

Plin. xxxiii. 4.

The signal for battle was given by a silver triton, which, by the help of a machine, rising at once up in the middle of the lake, sounded a trumpet. At that very instant an accident happened that was near disturbing the whole diversion. The poor wretches that were to fight, addressing themselves to the emperor, cried out, "We salute you, mighty emperor, "we salute you now we are going to die." Claudius returning their salute out of habitude, and without thinking what he was doing, they interpreted that sign of bounty from him literally, and thinking they had received their pardon from the emperor's own mouth, would not fight. Claudius greatly enraged, doubted some time whether he should destroy them all by fire and sword: at last descending from his throne, and reeling about the lake with his indecent and ludicrous gait, he prevailed on them, partly by threats, and partly by intreaties, to do their duty.

Though criminals, and absolutely forced to fight, yet they behaved like brave men, and after much bloodshed were parted, and excused from killing one another any longer.

Defects of the work intended to drain that lake.

The fight being over, the passage was opened through which the waters of the lake were to run off. The defect of the work then appeared, the water standing still instead of running, for want of a sufficient declivity.

Digging

Digging the canal deeper was thought A. R. 803.
would remedy that fault: and that this new A. C. 52.
experiment might not want spectators, the people were drawn thither by combats of gladiators, who were to fight on bridges erected on purpose. The second trial succeeded still worse than the first. A spacious room was built, and a fine banquet prepared, exactly over the spot where the water was to be let out. The moment a passage was opened, it ran with such violence, that part of the building was instantly carried away, and the rest greatly shattered. We are not told whether any perished by that accident: but Claudius was terribly frightened, and Agrippina took that opportunity to irritate him against Narcissus, who had been the chief manager and director of the canal, accusing him of having spared the necessary expences out of covetousness, and to put into his own pocket a great part of the money allotted for that work. There might be some truth in what she said. But in return, Narcissus, as justly and as boldly, upbraided her with her ambitious views, and lawless schemes of rule.

Suet. Claud. 32.

Dio. ap. Val. l. ix.

D. Junius Silanus. A. R. 804.
Q. Haterius Antoninus. A. C. 53.

The first event Tacitus mentions in the year in which D. Junius and Q. Haterius were consuls, is Nero's marriage with Octavia, who had long been betrothed to him. As he had been adopted by Claudius, that he might not seem to marry his sister, the princess was first passed into another family by adoption.

Nero's marriage with Octavia.

Tac. xii. ann. 58. Dio. l. lx.

Nero

A.R.804. A.C. 53. Nero, son of the empress, adopted son to the emperor, and his son-in-law, was, by these accumulated titles, visibly destined to succeed him in the empire. Agrippina, to afford him an opportunity of acquiring fame, and displaying his talents and turn for eloquence, would have him plead before the emperor for the people of Ilion, who were soliciting a total exemption from all tributes and public taxations. He pleaded their cause in Greek with great success, being then but in his sixteenth year. He called to mind the old tradition of Ilion's being the mother of Rome, and Eneas the first author of the Roman progeny, and of the Julian family. These fables pleased the Romans, by ascribing to them an illustrious origin, and the rank of the orator who told them still enhanced their merit. Nero's clients obtained their request, whether it was a confirmation of, or an addition to the privileges the Romans had always favoured them with ever since Antiochus's war.

He pleads several remarkable causes before the emperor. *Tac. ibid.*

Nor was this the only thing of that kind in which young Nero distinguished himself. He pleaded likewise for the people of Bologna in Italy, whose city had suffered greatly by fire, and for whom he obtained a gift of ten * millions of sesterces; for the Rhodians, who by his means had their liberty restored, which, as I have before said, had been taken from them for their ill treatment of some Roman citizens. And lastly, he pleaded for the inhabitants of Apamea, and obtained for them a remission of all taxes for five years, in consideration of their sufferings by a violent earthquake.

* 80,000 *l.*

All

All these causes were of advantage, and Agrippina did quite right to make her son beloved, whilst she was daily adding to the public hatred against herself, by the cruel iniquities she was ever committing under Claudius's name. Statilius Taurus was rich, and had gardens which Agrippina envied him the possession of. She suborned one to accuse him: Tarquitius Priscus, who had been Taurus's lieutenant whilst proconsul of Africa, on their return to Rome prosecuted him as having been guilty of extortion, but more especially of magic superstitions. Taurus saw from what quarter the storm came, and what the event of it must be, and without waiting the senate's decision killed himself. His accused however was punished. The senators looking upon him with indignation expelled him their order, notwithstanding the influence and solicitations of Agrippina. A.R.804. A. C. 53. Agrippina causes Statilius Taurus to be accused. He kills himself.

The emperors intendants had a considerable addition of power and authority given them this year. They were originally appointed only as receivers or collectors of the imperial revenues, and to take care of what demesnes the emperor possessed in the provinces. They were no more than Roman knights, or even the emperor's freemen, without any jurisdiction; and, like other private men, had neither command nor magistracy. The judiciary power resided in the proconsuls of the people's provinces, and in the proprætors of the princes. Judiciary power granted to the emperor's intendants. Tac. xii. 60. & Suet. Claud. 12.

But as some departments were of less consequence, such as Judea, Rhetia, the two Mauritanias, and others, to which the prince sent only intendants, they usurped in those small

A.R. 804. A.C. 53. small provinces a power of judging civil and even criminal matters: of which we have a signal instance in the sentence of death pronounced by Pilate against our Saviour Christ. They imitated the præfect of Egypt, who, though but a Roman knight, yet by Augustus's institution, enjoyed the same prerogatives as if he had been a magistrate. The intendants of provinces in which a magistrate, either proprætor, or proconsul, resided, thought themselves as good as their brother intendants: and those subalterns, depending solely on the prince's will, were upheld and encouraged in their encroachments. What was usurpation at first, became custom, and Claudius made it a law, by engaging the senate to ordain, that judgments given by his intendants, should have the same force and validity as if given by himself.

The reader may remember here what noise and disturbance the dispute between the senate and order of knights, touching the right of judicature, formerly made in the republic; how many laws, seditions, and civil wars, that quarrel was the pretended occasion of: that right, so valuable, the object of such jealousies, and for which the whole universe had been put in combustion, was by Claudius given away to a parcel of freemen, collectors of his revenues, whom he thereby set on a level with magistrates, and even with himself.

Favours granted the people of the isle of Cos, and the Byzantins.

His next proposal to the senate was, to exempt the inhabitants of the isle of Cos from the tribute they paid; and as he pretended to great learning, he expatiated on the antiquities of that island, its pre-eminence in the art of physic, first introduced there by Esculapius, and

and continued from age to age by his descendants. He ran over the names of all the famous physicians, according to the order of time in which they flourished, not forgetting, I hope, Hippocrates. At last he came to Xenophon, his own physician, who, he said, was descended from the same family, and whose entreaties in favour of his country ought not to be rejected. He might, says Tacitus, have laid some stress on the services the inhabitants of that island had done the Romans. But * with his usual simplicity, having granted that favour at the request of one private man, he sought not to varnish over what he had done with the least colouring of dignity or decency. We shall soon see how unworthy that physician was of the trust and confidence Claudius reposed in him; and how much more he deserved the severest punishments than the least favours. A.R. 804. A. C. 53.

The deputies of Byzantium requested the senate to grant their city some relief, being quite over-burdened with the taxes they paid. Claudius espoused their cause, and they were exempted for five years.

Asinius and Acilius Aviola, the last consuls that Claudius saw, entered on their offices soon after. The latter was son or grandson of one Acilius Aviola, who died in a most shocking miserable manner. After a long fit of sickness, his friends and physicians thinking him dead, he was laid on the funeral pile. The heat of the fire awaked him, for he was only in a lethargy. He called out for help, but

Memorable instances of a dreadful death. *Val. Max.* l. viii. *Plin.* viii. 52.

* Claudius facilitate solita, quod sui concesserat, nullis extrinsecus adjumentis velavit. *Tac.* xii. 6.

A.R.804. A. C. 53. but it was impossible to save him; the flames that already surrounded, soon killed and consumed him.

A.R.805. A. C. 54. M. ASINIUS MARCELLUS. M. ACILIUS AVIOLA.

Tac. Ann. xii. 64. Historians have recorded several pretended prodigies towards the last year of Cladius's life, but I shall, as usual, pass them over in silence. An event very singular, though no prodigy, was, that every one of the colleges of magistrates paid a tribute to death. In the space of a few months died a quæstor, an edile, a tribune, a prætor, and a consul.

Claudius begins to suspect Agrippina.

Claudius began to open his eyes on Agrippina's crimes, and chanced one day, that he had drank pretty freely, to say, it was his fate * first to bear the wickedness of his wives, and then to punish them. Agrippina took notice of his expression, and resolved to prevent him: but first of all thought proper to get rid of Domitia Lepida, whom she looked upon as a kind of rival in her son's love and affection.

She kills Domitia.

Domitia was sister to Domitius Ahenobarbus, and consequently aunt to Nero, daughter of the eldest of the two Antonia's, grand-niece to Augustus, and cousin-german to Germanicus, father of Agrippina. She † therefore thought herself of equal rank with that princess: she was about her age, and no ways her inferior

* Fatale sibi ut conjugùm flagitia ferret, dein puniret. *Tac.*

† Domitia parem sibi claritudinem credebat. Nec forma, ætas, opes, multùm distabant; & utraque impudica, infamis, violenta, haud minùs vitiis æmulabantur, quam si qua ex fortuna prospera acceperant. *Tac.*

inferior for beauty or riches. Both equally lewd and debauched, their reputations alike ruined and lost, and both hot and violent, their vices seemed to constitute the same rivalship between them, as their rank and fortune did. The main strife was, which of the two, the mother or the aunt, should have the ascendant over Nero, and in that Domitia might easily have the advantage. She had been her nephew's refuge during Agrippina's exile; had received and entertained him in her house: and from that time had always studied to ingratiate himself with the young prince by all manner of blandishments, flatteries, and presents: whereas * Agrippina had always treated him with haughtiness and menaces. She was capable of giving her son the empire, but incapable of letting him rule as emperor. For that reason, Agrippina, incensed against Domitia, caused her to be accused of magic and sorcery. She was likewise charged with disturbing the peace of Italy, by the numerous army of slaves she kept in Calabria †, without order or discipline. Nero, who till then had affected great tenderness for his aunt, gave on this occasion a specimen of the badness of his heart, by deposing against her at the request of his mother. Domitia was condemned to die. A. R. 805. A. C. 54. Suet. Ner. 7. Suet. Ner. 7.

Narcissus opposed it with all his might, wanting, but too late, to prevent the effect of Agrippina's wicked designs, already too far advanced. Narcissus thinks of opposing Agrippina, but miscarries.

* Truci contra ac minaci Agrippina, quæ filio dare Imperium, tolerare imperitantem nequibat. *Tac.*

† It is the country now called La Pouille, & Terra d'Otrante.

A.R. 805 advanced. Fear for himself was undoubtedly
A. C. 54. what had withheld him hitherto. The accuser of Messalina could not expect to live under Britannicus emperor: but he found at last he had not less to dread from Agrippina if Nero reigned. Of two extreme dangers he chose to face that which was most conformable to his duty; and since his ruin was inevitable, determined at least to deserve it by an act of fidelity to his master. "I accused and convicted, said he to his friends, Messalina and "Silius. I have reasons, not less strong, to "accuse her who now partakes the emperor's "bed. She is an unnatural step-mother, that "disturbs the whole imperial family, and sets "aside the order of succession. It would be "more shameful for me to speak of crimes "of such a nature, than it would have been "to leave Messalina's unpunished. Even those "for which she deservedly suffered, are here "added to all the rest. Agrippina prostitutes "herself to Pallas, and openly sets the example how all modesty, sentiments and honour are to be sacrificed and given up to "the ambition of reigning."

Whilst he was talking thus, Narcissus embraced Britannicus, offering up prayers for his attaining speedily an age at which he would know himself and feel who and what he was. Lifting up his hands, now towards Heaven, and then to the young prince; "Encrease and "strengthen, said he to him, and destroy the "enemies of your father's peace: nay, if there "be occasion for it, revenge too your mother's "death."

Thus

Thus Narcissus denounced open war against Agrippina: but victory declared on the empress's side. She triumphed over him that sought her ruin, and obliged him to remove from court, under pretence of going to the warm baths of Campania for the gout, with which he was much afflicted. A.R. 805. A. C. 54. *Dio. l. lx.*

Narcissus's removal was fatal to Claudius. The prince's life was safe so long as that vigilant guardian remained with his master. By his absence Agrippina was at full liberty to crown all her crimes by poisoning the emperor her husband.

The danger was urgent. Claudius, who really loved Britannicus, often gave him such marks of tenderness, as shewed he was sensible of the injury he had done him in adopting Nero. He was delighted to see him grow, and as he was tall for his age, though but thirteen, Claudius resolved to give him the virile robe very speedily, "that Rome, said he, may at "last have a true Cæsar." Agrippina alarmed, judged it high time to execute the crime she had long determined to commit, and took the opportunity of a slight indisposition the emperor chanced to have. Her only difficulty was what kind of poison she should make use of: there she was somewhat at a loss. Too violent a one might make her crime too apparent; but then again a slow poison would kill Claudius but by degrees, he would languish some time, and during that time his paternal tenderness might revive, and induce him to do Britannicus justice. Some particular kind of poison that would affect his brain and yet not kill him too suddenly seemed most proper. Claudius dies poisoned by Agrippina. *Tac. xii. 66. Suet. Claud. 43. Dio.*

A.R.805. A. C. 54. To that end Agrippina applied to the famous Locusta *, lately condemned for poisoning people, after she had long been spared as a useful instrument to tyranny.

Locusta prepared the poison which was given Claudius by one of his eunuchs named Halotus, whose office was to set the dishes on the prince's table, and taste them. Claudius was a great eater, and the poison was put in a plate of mushrooms, of which he was very fond. He eat greedily, and the effect soon following, he was obliged to be taken from table. That circumstance however gave no great alarm at first, because the prince would frequently eat and drink to that degree, that he could neither rise nor stand, but was forced to be carried from table to bed. Himself did not perceive or complain of any thing, either through stupidity, drunkenness, or that the poison had already reached his head: nature procuring a discharge, he seemed somewhat easier.

Agrippina terrified, no longer † considered the noise and scandal that might ensue, but at once resolved to stick at nothing in so imminent a danger. She had long before made sure of the physician Xenophon, and that wretch, under pretence of easing the prince and helping him to vomit, ran a feather dipped in the rankest poison down his throat, well knowing ‡, says Tacitus, that great crimes are not committed without danger, but that when done their reward crowns them.

Claudius

* Nuper veneficii damnata, & diu inter instrumenta regni habita. *Tac.*

† Quando ultima timebantur, spreta presentium invidia. *Tac.*

‡ Haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum premio. *Tac.*

Claudius died the thirteenth of October, A. R. 805. in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the A. C. 54. fourteenth of his reign. The cause of his death was soon known. Contemporary writers, according to Tacitus, laid open the whole of that iniquitous mystery, differing only in some minute circumstances, but agreeing perfectly as to the fact. Nero himself was so far from making a secret of it, that alluding cruelly though ingeniously to the apotheosis of Claudius, ranked among the gods, as we shall soon observe by his murderer, he called mushrooms *the food of gods*.

Claudius was a man of so little consequence in himself, that he hardly deserves being enquired after. However, as he did hold a rank superior to the rest of men, we will for that reason not pass over what antiquity informs us of concerning him.

His prevailing characteristic was a stupid imbecility, of which I have given several instances. Suetonius affords us the following. Nothing made any impression on him; he forgot every thing. Sitting down to dinner the day after Messalina was killed, he asked why the empress did not come. He would often order people, he, the very evening before had condemned to die, to be invited to sup or play with him the next day; would grow impatient at their not coming, and send messenger after messenger to bid them make haste. These instances of such inconceivable absence of mind, the effect of his stupid insensibility, authorise Seneca's fiction, wherein he makes Claudius on his arrival in the infernal shades, immediately surrounded by a crowd of those he had

Instances of Claudius's imbecility. *Suet. Claud.* 38—40.

A. C. 54.

A.R. 805. A. C. 54. sent thither before him, cry out: "What! "this country too full of my friends! how "came you all hither?"

His discourse was full of absurdities: he never considered neither who he was, nor to whom he was speaking, nor had the least idea of what was due to times, places, or persons. Whilst matters were preparing for his marriage with Agrippina, though he knew how much such an alliance with his niece was blamed, yet he was continually repeating, she was his daughter, he had seen her come into the world, and she had been brought up in his arms and nourished in his bosom. Whilst the senate was deliberating on some affair relating to butchers, hucksters, and retailers of wine, on a sudden Claudius cries out, "and pray now, can any one live without pickled pork?" then launched out in praise of the old taverns from which he had formerly used to have his wine. Recommending a candidate for the questorship, he said one reason why he wished to see him promoted was, because that candidate's father had once given him, when ill, a glass of cold water that did him good. Speaking of a woman who appeared before the senate as witness in a cause, he said, "This woman was one of "my mother's freewomen, and used to dress "her head; and has always looked upon me "as her patron. This I mention because I "have now in my family some who forget that "I am their master, and they my freemen." Nay, his simplicity was such, that he would often mention his own stupidity in the speeches he made to the senate. He pretended indeed that it was only dissembled, and he had been obliged

liged to have recourse to that artifice to screen himself from Caius's cruelty; otherwise, said he, I should never have attained that high post for which the gods had destined me. But his whole conduct sufficiently refuted that pretence, and plainly shewed his imbecility, natural, and not affected. A.R. 805. A. C. 54.

He was a child with grey hairs. He was a glutton, in the strictest sense of that word. One day that he gave audiences and was judging causes in Augustus's square, scenting the fumes of a dinner that was preparing in the temple of Mars for the priests of that god, he left the tribunal, and went and sat down to dinner with the Salians. He eat and drank without any discretion, and what happened to him the last day of his life, was, as I have observed, his usual custom. Every day he was forced to be carried from table to bed, and whilst he slept there on his back, with his mouth wide open, a feather was thrust down his throat to help him to vomit and ease his stomach. He was passionately fond of play. He wrote a book on that subject, and would play even whilst travelling, for which purpose he had a gaming table so fixed in his chaise that the motion did not put any thing out of order. He was easily angered, and as easily pacified; and so he declared in a placart, or edict, as Suetonius calls it, posted up publicly by his order.

Who would imagine this weak silly creature, cruel and fond of blood? Claudius was so, just as children are. *That age knows not pity*, says La Fontaine, and experience proves it. Claudius from a kind of instinct that reason and reflection had not been able to correct, His cruelty. Sue. Claud. 34.

for

A.R.805. A.C. 54. for he never was capable of either, loved to see blood shed. Executions, combats of gladiators, men torn to pieces and devoured by wild beasts, were to him pleasing amusements. This inhuman turn of mind, made him guilty of cruelties without number towards the most illustrious of the empire. Seneca, in his satyrical performance, already quoted more than once, makes Augustus say in the assembly of the gods, into which Claudius desires to be admitted: "This man *, whom by his appear-"ance you would not think capable of hurt-"ing a fly, killed men as ready as a dog gnaws "a bone." Thirty senators, and three hundred and twenty-five Roman knights were put to death by his order. He did not spare even those that ought to have been most dear to him: among other victims of his cruelty were, two of his nieces, his wife, his father-in-law, his two sons-in-law, and his daughter's father and mother-in-law. A strong proof that mildness is the effect of a more refined reason; and that stupidity, vulgarly supposed void of malice, is fit only to make men brutal and cruel.

Suet. Claud. 29

But the ills the Romans endured under Claudius were but a faint sketch of those they suffered under his successor, whose name, though so many ages since, is still detested and abhorred, and, as Racine says, is very justly,

Britan.

By worst of tyrants thought the worst of names.

* Hic, qui vobis non posse videtur muscam excitare, tam facilè homines occidebat, quam canis exta edit. *Sen.* Αποκολοκ.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.


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